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WESTERN AMERICANA

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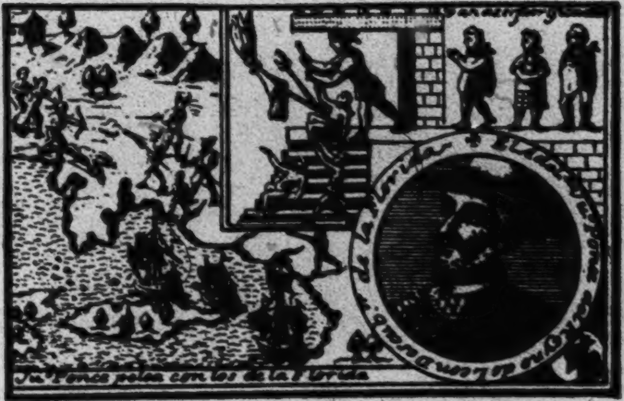
Ju.° Ponce pelea con los de la Florida

DRID
co. 1726 *Con Privilegio de su Majestad.*

JUAN PONCE DE LEON, FROM THE TITLE-PAGE OF HERRERA'S "DECADA SEGUNDA," MADRID, 1726. THE SKETCH ON THE LEFT HAND REPRESENTS PONCE FIGHTING WITH THE FLORIDIANS.

THE SPANISH SETTLEMENTS

WITHIN THE PRESENT LIMITS OF THE UNITED STATES

1513–1561

BY

WOODBURY LOWERY

WITH MAPS

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
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TO THE MEMORY
OF
MY BELOVED FATHER AND MOTHER

PREFACE

IF the reader will glance at a map of North America at about the close of the seventeenth century (Treaty of Ryswick, 1697), and mark out for himself the relative extent of territory claimed by the three Powers which at that time occupied its soil, he will observe that to the north the French were in possession of the vast strip of forest and river stretching as far westward as the Great Lakes, with an indefinite boundary toward the frozen pole, and across the St. Lawrence River a foothold already secured for an extension southward, an extension to be accomplished in the course of the following century along the valley of the Ohio. Turning to the south he will find the great Spanish Viceroyalty of Mexico stretching from sea to sea and already in the second century of its existence, its outlying provinces embracing the entire southern portion of the United States, extending indefinitely up the Pacific Coast, and with a colony nearly a century and a half old in the peninsula of Florida.

In 1607, a little band of English "gentlemen," "laborers," and artisans, alien in religion and race to the two great Catholic and Latin Powers which then had practically divided between them the northern half of the New World, made their first enduring settlement in Virginia, and but thirteen years later (1620) the Cape Cod colony was founded. At first these Anglo-Saxons spread along the narrow strip of territory between the Alleghenies and the Atlantic. Then, like an iron wedge, the English colonists penetrated the domain of their rivals, thrust them apart on either side, and with ever increasing dimensions pressed farther and farther across the continent, until they have occupied almost the entire territory which had previously belonged to France and Spain.

Why did not those prior European possessors offer a stouter resistance? They were rivals worthy of England and had much in common with her: "fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer." Their training in the arts of civilisation was as old, their bravery in war as great, with traditions as honourable, and they enjoyed a far wider experience of conquest and dominion among uncivilised races than she had had. Why was it, then, that they yielded almost without a struggle to the invasion of these intrepid English adventurers, who at the outset claimed scarcely room enough to dig for themselves a grave? It is an unusually interesting and absorbing question, which has been answered by Mr. Parkman, for one member of the Latin brotherhood, in that wonderful series of his, *France and England in North America*.

But for the remaining and elder member, Spain, no one has thus far attempted a synthetic treatment of her policy in her North American possessions, the reasons for her preliminary success, her later apathy, and her final decadence. Such an inquiry lies far beyond the scope of the present volume, which deals with what might be called the selvage of one only of her empires, the outlying, neglected and half-forgotten provinces of the Viceroyalty of Mexico; provinces whose value to the Crown at any period in its history was as nothing when compared with the wealth-producing part of the Viceroyalty; provinces settled for strategical reasons, maintained for strategical reasons, and finally surrendered or exchanged for considerations of far more immediate importance to Spain than any profit she derived from them; provinces consisting of sparse settlements, small military outposts, and remote missions scattered through virgin forests, boundless deserts, and inaccessible mountains. And yet, even within the limits of the history of these border colonies, from which there never flowed into the bosom of the mother country those streams of gold and silver which wooed her to her ruin, there may be traced many of those elements of weakness which rendered them incapable of a successful opposition to the inroad of the Anglo-Saxon.

To arouse the interest of the student in some such treatment of the Spanish history of our own country the present work has been undertaken. It has been the aim of the writer to let the men and the events speak for themselves, that the reader might learn from their own lips of what clay they were moulded and of what spirit they were possessed. For when all is said it is that kinship of human aspirations and foibles, that responsive quickening of the heart-beats to the same high purpose of men in the past as in the present, that strange interest in the growth and the expansion, yes, and in the corruption and the degeneracy of a human soul, whether it be that of an individual or of a nation, which constitutes one, if not the chief, of the attractions of history.

It has been the aim of the writer to be fair and honest, not that he has hesitated to state frankly his own conclusions wherever he has deemed it right so to do, but that he has sought to present all of the facts within his reach with such fidelity to the sources from which they were obtained that the thoughtful reader may be at liberty to pass his own judgment upon them irrespective of what may appear to be the bias of the writer.

The ideal history of a nation should contain in parallel columns the history of the actions of her sister nations in like circumstances and under similar impulses. Then we would have the negro stealing of a Hawkins against the Indian stealing of a De Leon; the Jewish expulsion in Spain four hundred years ago against the Jewish expulsion in Russia at the end of the nineteenth century; the exclusion of foreigners from the Spanish colonies against the exclusion of the Chinese from the United States; the religious persecutions by Roman Catholics against the religious persecutions by Protestant sects; the Machiavelli of an Italian Republic against the Machiavelli of a German Empire.

For the purposes of this history the league used in the various relations has been assumed to be the legal league, equivalent to about 2.6 statute miles. This is the equivalent employed by Bandelier (*Contributions*, p. 53), Winship (*Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 399, note 1), and by Shipp (*De Soto and Florida*, p. 99, note).

Buckingham Smith (*Cabeça de Vaca*, p. 49, ed. 1871) considers the league of Cabeça the equivalent of the geographical mile. H. H. Bancroft (*Central America*, vol. i., p. 190, note 5) says: "The land league was by law of Alfonso the Wise 3000 paces, as specified in the *Siete Partidas*. The discoverers roughly estimated a league at from two and a half to three and a half English miles." The *Breve Compendio de la Sphera* (Seville, 1551, quoted by G. V. Fox, "The Landfall of Columbus," in *U. S. Coast Survey Report*, p. 59, 1880) gives: 1 mile = 1000 passus; 5 feet a geometrical passus; 2 steps make a passus; 3 miles = one league. Now if this Spanish mile is the Roman mile of 1000 paces, which is the equivalent of 1600 yards, then the land league of Alfonso the Wise is about 2.7 statute miles. Fox (*ibid.*) computes the mile of Columbus at 1614 yards and his league (nautical), which contained four of these miles, at 6456 yards. He also computes the nautical mile. D'Avezac (*Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, pp. 130–164, September and October, 1858, quoted by Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 45, note 2) calls the league 5924 metres. Winsor (*ibid.*) merely says: "There is more or less confusion in the estimate made of the league at this time." Bancroft (*ibid.*) says that the Spanish league varied with the time and place, and that only in 1801 were the different measurements of the several original kingdoms reduced to a uniform standard.

To aid in the elucidation of the various narratives of these early Spanish adventurers a large number of authorities consisting chiefly of recent writers has been consulted. While we are indebted to early investigators for arousing an interest in the subject and for many valuable suggestions, the great expanse of our country was too little known during the first half of the nineteenth century to permit of that detailed acquaintance with its topography necessary to even an approximately accurate tracing of the routes of its early Spanish explorers. Valuable as is the material contained in the reports of various army officers in their explorations of the vast region lying west of the Mississippi River, it is only in the last quarter of the past century that experts having the requisite training have investigated the regions traversed by the Spaniards. For this we are indebted not only to private initiative, such as that of the Hemenway Expedition, but pre-eminently to the efforts of the Smithsonian Institution. Under its auspices the Bureau of Ethnology has accumulated in its publications an inexhaustible store of ethnographic and historical material indispensable to all writers on American history. Much valuable material also exists in other Smithsonian publications and in the *Reports of the United States Geological Survey*.

The writer must also acknowledge his indebtedness to Justin Winsor's invaluable *Narrative and Critical History of America*, and particularly to its very copious critical notes and references, and to the works of H. H. Bancroft, to both of which publications the reader in search of further authorities is referred.

In addition to the printed works cited in the references to this volume the writer has had access to the manuscript collection of the late Buckingham Smith, now in the possession of the New York Historical Society, and to the A. M. Brooks Manuscripts relating to the history of Florida.

A number of gentlemen have kindly supplied me with information on various points and given me access to books and material. Among these may be mentioned the Duke of Arcos, Spanish minister to the United States; various members of the United States Bureau of Ethnology, including Mr. James Mooney, Mr. Albert S. Gatschet, the late Rev. J. Owen Dorsay, and the present librarian Mr. F. W. Hodge; Mr. Gifford Pinchot, Forester of the United States Department of Agriculture, Mr. James Hall, in the Office of the State Geologist, Albany, New York; the Executive Committee of the New York Historical Society, Mr. W. Eames, Librarian of the Lenox Library, New York; the President of the Jesuit College at Georgetown, D. C., where is now the library of the late Dr. Shea; Mr. A. H. Allen, Librarian of the United States State Department, and Mr. P. Lee Phillips, Curator of the Division of Maps and Charts at the Library of Congress. To the living I wish to express my thanks: to those who are no more I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness.

And especially do I wish to mention the late Hon. Charles Levi Woodbury, of Boston, Massachusetts, to whose kindly counsel this volume owes its beginning, and whose lively interest in it suffered no abatement until the day of his death.

WOODBURY LOWERY.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
January, 1901.

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BOOK I

INTRODUCTION

BOOK I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE PHYSICAL ASPECT OF THE COUNTRY

IT is important to begin this history with an examination somewhat in detail of both the physical and ethnographic conditions of the country at the period of its discovery, in order to appreciate in its true relations the course of Spanish colonisation within the territory now occupied by the United States.

The northern half of the Continent of America much resembles a triangle in outline, its apex pointing to the south. Near its eastern and western shores and approximately parallel therewith lie the two principal mountain systems, the Appalachian and the Cordilleran ranges, the former extending very nearly north-east and south-west; the latter north and south.

The eastern side of the Appalachian range descends towards the Atlantic with a gradual slope from sixty to two hundred miles wide and forms the eastern edge of the continent, while on the Pacific the western slope of the Rocky Mountains towards the sea is much more abrupt and presents only a narrow and mountainous coast region. Between the two ranges the great valley of the Mississippi River may be considered as made up of the tablelands of the two mountain systems, with only a relatively small area of alluvial matter between the mouth of the Ohio and the Gulf of Mexico.

The Appalachian system, which consists of an old outer range nearer the seaboard, called the Blue Ridge, of relatively small height and the higher, inner, parallel range of the Alleghanies, terminates in the neighbourhood of the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, about midway between the Atlantic and the Mississippi River. Here the Alleghanies take a westerly trend through the northern part of the State of Alabama, while to the north and east of them the Blue Ridge bends in the same direction between the two Carolinas and on the northern limits of Georgia, almost closing in the fertile valley which lies between.[1]

The lowlands formed between the Appalachian range and the Atlantic pass southwardly into those of the Gulf States, the great Southern Plain which extends from the southern flanks of the mountains to the Gulf of Mexico, a merged portion of land accumulated upon the bottom of the sea from the wash of the uplands above it and from the bodies of animals and plants which have died and given their debris to the sea-floor; and these southern lowlands in turn pass northwardly into the vast plain of the Mississippi Valley. On the western edge of the Mississippi Plain rise the lofty highlands of the Cordilleras, which extend the entire length of the continent, but sink down on the borders of Mexico, within the limits of the United States, to a much smaller altitude[2]; and beyond their rugged western slopes lies the Pacific.

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[1] "Physiography of North America," by N. S. Shaler, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. iv., pp. 1 *et seq.*

[2] *Papers of the Archæological Institute of America*, Series III. *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwest*, Part I., p. 7, by A. F. Bandelier.

It thus seems that the northern portion of the continent presents somewhat the appearance of two great waves travelling from east to west, suddenly arrested and solidified in their course, the longer and higher wave being the Rocky Mountains, combing and about to break over their abrupt western slope, the shorter and lower wave following in its wake being the Appalachian range, and the long, broad trough between them, the valley of the Mississippi.

It is the rainfall which determines the permanent or variable nature of the rivers, the distribution of the forests, and the capacity for agricultural purposes of this immense territory. To the peculiar location of the two great mountain systems on the eastern and western coasts of the continent and their relation to the winds charged with humidity, which come from the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico, is due the remarkable fact that while the eastern portion of the United States is well supplied with moisture, nearly one half of the lands of the Union, exclusive of Alaska, is arid—that the rainfall throughout the western portion between the Mississippi and the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains is insufficient to fertilise the crops from year to year without the employment of artificial methods of irrigation.

Both the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans send streams of warm water against the eastern and western coasts of North America. The trade winds, which first brought the Spaniard to our shore, blow across the Atlantic and gather in the Caribbean Sea and in the Gulf of Mexico a current of tepid water called the Gulf Stream, which taking a northerly course, by the time it reaches Havana has acquired a regular and steady flow. Rounding the curve of the Florida shore, it practically fills the narrow strait between the Peninsula and the Bahamas, but thirty-nine miles wide in its narrowest part, at which point its warm waters flow with a velocity of from three to more than five miles per hour.[1] As it leaves the Straits of Florida its course is about north, until off the Cape of Hatteras it starts on its way to Europe.

Its warm waters have probably some effect on the climate of the southern extremity of the Floridian Peninsula with which they come in contact, imparting to it a subtropical temperature exhibited in both its flora[2] and fauna, utilised within the last few years, especially in the neighbourhood of Jupiter inlet, for the cultivation of a variety of sub-tropical exotics from India and elsewhere. But the temperature of the coast is already so high, that the direct warming powers of the stream are very slight.[3]

It is to the winds charged with moisture, which they have gathered from the Gulf Stream, that the States about the Gulf of Mexico lying to the north of that basin are indebted for their abundant rainfall, the heaviest in all the continent, and especially so along the lower extremity of Florida, along the Gulf coast, and in the basins of the Alabama, the Pearl, and the Red Rivers.

Here also and in the southern part of the Appalachian district is found the greatest average of streams. The larger rivers spread over the country like a great network, descending from the mountains in perennial streams, navigable for miles up into the interior, while the lowlands abound in swamps and marshes and little lakes, the sources of innumerable rivulets, creeks, and bayous, which fringe the shore with their semi-torpid waters. Northerly, westerly, and north-westerly the rainfall decreases, until west of the Mississippi, along the hundredth meridian the "semi-arid" or "sub-humid" region is reached, beyond which the rainfall is no longer sufficient to maintain vigorous vegetable life.[1]

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[1] "Recent Discoveries concerning the Gulf Stream," J. E. Pillsbury, *Century Magazine*, vol. xliii., p. 533.

[2] "The Battle of the Forests," B. E. Fernow, *Scientific American Supplement* (January 19, 1895), vol. xxxix., p. 15,880.

[3] "Phys. of N. Am.," *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. iv., p. 111.

The Pacific has also its warm stream, called the Black Stream of Japan, a branch of the Equatorial Current. Feebler than the Gulf Stream, it sweeps across the ocean and strikes the north-western shore of the Pacific coast, where part of it is deflected to form the North Equatorial Current, while the rest of it flows along the coasts of California and Mexico as the variable Mexican Current.[2]

But here the conditions are altogether different from those encountered by the Gulf Stream. In place of an open country over which the ocean breezes can sweep carrying their life-giving moisture far into the interior, the warm winds that blow from the Pacific encounter at once the coast ranges of the lofty Cordilleras rising like a barrier between them and the interior of the country, and confining them to the shore, where they generate heavy fogs, which shut off the sun's rays and thus lower the temperature. Upon the western flanks and summits of the Rocky Mountains these winds rid themselves of what little moisture they may still hold, and, thus deprived of all humidity, blow in scorching breezes across the arid plains to the east, giving rise to physical conditions similar to those which prevailed in Egypt and Assyria. The result is that on the high tablelands of the Cordilleras and over the broad expanse to the east of them is a region of great aridity, which continues until it merges into the district under the influence of the Gulf Stream.

What rainfall there is, falls chiefly on the mountains and high plateaus. The streams, few in number when compared with those of the region east of the Mississippi, are swelled not by the rainy season, but by the melting of the snows.[1] The mountain torrents plunging down the deep narrow gorges, spread out into broad shallow sheets of water when they strike the plain and their moisture is drunk up by evaporation; others, "perhaps two out of three," says Major Powell,[2] are swallowed up by the sands and become what are called lost rivers; others live only through seasons of storm to die away entirely in seasons of drought, while others still, whose waters flow throughout the year, dwindle in their course over the thirsty plains.

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[1] "The Irrigable Lands of the Arid Region," by Major J. W. Powell, *Century Magazine*, vol. xxxix., p. 766.

[2] *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edit., see under Pacific Ocean.

Finally the narrow mountainous coast of the Pacific is abundantly supplied with the waters robbed from the parched interior and enjoys rather a uniform character both in its physical and climatic aspects.[3]

The effect of this unequal distribution of moisture upon the presence of vegetation is that which might be anticipated; all of the country east of the Mississippi River was formerly covered by forests, which probably extended in alternation with the prairies westward to the eastern limits of the semi-arid zone. Beyond that lie the plains where the rains are too infrequent to support the forest growth. On the high tableland of the Rockies occasional forests also occur, but the conditions are unfavourable and their area as a general rule is much restricted. Upon the western slopes of the Sierras in California and along the coast the forests are again abundant.

The Spanish adventurers at different periods of their occupation of the territory of the United States coasted far up its eastern and western shores, penetrated in the interior of the country a considerable distance to the north, and at one time were even possessed of the extensive region comprised between the Mississippi River and the Pacific; but their permanent settlements were practically all centred in two localities, the Floridian Peninsula in the east and the high tableland of New Mexico in the west. Only late in the eighteenth century was the attempt made to secure permanent possession of the State of California for the Spanish Crown, and even then its settlement was relegated to the Jesuit missionaries. East of the Mississippi De Soto had crossed and recrossed from north to south the region lying below the thirty-fifth degree of latitude; west of it he may have penetrated somewhat farther to the north. Cabeça de Vaca had wandered across central Texas; Coronado had ascended the Rio Grande in New Mexico, had penetrated into central Kansas, and his lieutenant visited the Grand Cañon of the Colorado.

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[1] *Final Rept.*, Pt. i., p. 17.

[2] "The Irrigable Lands," *l. c.*

[3] *Nature and Man in America*, p. 170, by N. S. Shaler, New York, 1891.

For these reasons the character of the region lying south of the thirty-fifth degree of latitude in the east and the thirty-seventh degree in the west, as it presented itself to the Spanish invader nearly four hundred years ago, will be considered a little more closely, and particularly that of the localities where his permanent settlements were made. The eastern section of this territory lying between the Mississippi River and the Atlantic comprises the present Gulf States of Florida, Alabama and Mississippi and the Atlantic States of Georgia and South Carolina.

Along the northern border the higher ranges of the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies rise to an average altitude of over two thousand feet.[1] About their base stretches a rolling country of alternate hill and plateau, which shelves down gradually east, south, and west until it terminates in the swampy alluvial strip of lowland, nowhere exceeding one hundred feet in elevation, which extends along the entire Atlantic and Gulf coast. Westward to the Mississippi the land sinks less rapidly, maintaining a somewhat higher elevation throughout the greater part of its descent. The mountains cut off the cold winter blasts from the region now occupied by the States of Georgia and Florida; but the country to the west of them, lying at the southern end of the Mississippi Valley, is subject to great variations in temperature, the summer heat being very great and the winter cold,[1] and attended by fierce and penetrating "northers."

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[1] *Britannica*, see under Appalachian; Map of the United States, U. S. Geological Survey, 1898.

With but few exceptions, the rivers take their rise in the mountains. The Appalachicola, the Alabama, the Tombigbee, and others flow south into the Gulf of Mexico ; the Savannah, the Ogeechee, the Atlahama south-east into the Atlantic; the Yazoo and the Big Black south-west into the Mississippi. All of these rivers are navigable for some distance up their courses, the larger ones to the extent of three hundred and even four hundred miles and thus afford easy access to the interior.[2] As a general rule where they reach the sea or the Gulf, their lower courses are bordered by swamps and marshes, and terminate in long re-entrant bays of but little depth.[3] The harbours of the Floridian Peninsula especially are quite shallow, and afford accommodation only for vessels of light draft. Some of the rivers, such as those of the State of Mississippi which flow into the Gulf of Mexico, are much obstructed by sand bars.[4]

A fringe of small low islands, lying generally parallel with the shore, extend along the entire length of the Atlantic coast and terminate at the Cape of Florida in the half-submerged Florida Reefs, the Martyr Islands, on which many an unfortunate galleon and caravel have been wrecked. Between these and the shore is formed an endless succession of long, shallow, enclosed waters or lagoons, navigable for vessels of very light draft, so that it is possible to sail the entire distance in land-locked waters within sight of the sea yet under shelter from its waves. Much the same characteristic repeats itself along the southwestern shore of the peninsula and along the southern coast of the present States of Alabama and Mississippi.

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[1] *Nature and Man*, pp. 239, 240.

[2] In Georgia steamboats ascend the Savannah River 230 miles to Augusta, and the river is navigable for 150 miles beyond. The Chattahoochee is navigable for 350 miles, the Flint 250, the Ogeechee, Santilla, and St. Mary's 30 to 40 miles for sloops. In Alabama, the Alabama River is navigable for 460 miles to Wetumpka on the Coosa ; the Tombigbee to Columbus, and the Black Warrior to Tuscaloosa. In Mississippi, the Mississippi, Tennessee, and Yazoo are navigable during the whole year, and all the larger streams during high water.—*Britannica*, see under Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi.

[3] "Phys. of N. Am.," *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.* vol. iv., p. xxvii.

[4] *Nature and Man*, p. 235 ; *Britannica*, see under Mississippi.

The Floridian Peninsula presents several features which in a way distinguish it from the country to the north. Owing to its shape, which is about six hundred miles long with an average width of one hundred miles, it has a very extended litoral of more than two thousand miles. This is indented with shallow bays and harbours and bordered by islands and lagoons like the rest of the coast. Remarkable for its slight elevation above the sea, which nowhere exceeds four hundred feet, its highlands are confined to the upper end of the peninsula, while its entire southern extremity below Lake Okechobee is but one vast swamp, barring a narrow strip along the Atlantic. Between these, in the central region, lie innumerable lakes and ponds, most of them exceedingly shallow, the volume of their waters varying with the season. Its principal rivers empty into the Gulf of Mexico and flow for at least a part of their course nearly parallel with the western shore. On the east the St. John's River is in its lower course nothing more than an extensive arm of the sea, having the same characteristic direction. Subterranean streams, fed by the lakes and springs of the interior, have cut mysterious passages through the underlying coral reef, and discharge themselves in springs of sweet water which bubble up out of the ocean at some distance from the shore. Its soil, largely composed of pure sand, is of rather an infertile nature, and its climate, owing to the surrounding sea, insular.[1]

There can be no doubt that at the period of the Spanish Invasion the whole country was densely wooded: in the mountains chestnut and oak, beech and hickory, short- and long-leaved pine with others of its kin clothed the declivities. The rhododendron blossomed in the valleys, and on the hills the fiery azaleas. Below, on the broad band of hill and plateau vast grassy savannahs, brilliant with yellow and crimson flowers, alternated with great forests of pine of every description, through which lay scattered extensive groves of oak, where the ash, beech, maple, and gum were not wanting; the magnolia reared its towering and graceful dome, and the olive oak spread its evergreen branches.

Where the highlands fall away toward the sea, especially over the sandy plain of Georgia which extends down into the upper part of Florida, the forests of pine became more open until the low coast strip was reached. Here the wooded country began to alternate with lakes, ponds, and swamps, with plains of dwarf palmetto and verdant savannahs. The deciduous trees increased in number, groves of live-oak and magnolia multiplied, canebrakes grew in the marshes, particularly in the western part and in the neighbourhood of the Mississippi River. The cypress lifted its buttresses out of the swamp in company with the mangrove. From all the branches hung funereal Spanish moss,[2] and as warmer climes were reached, orange groves lined the river banks and high above all swayed the graceful plumes of the palm tree. Everywhere through the forests, on highland and lowland, wherever the Indian's fire had not swept away the undergrowth, was a tangle of vines and creeping plants.

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[1] *Nature and Man*, pp. 235–238; *Travels through North and South Carolina*, etc., by W. Bartram. Philadelphia, 1791.

[2] For the flora and sylva of the south coast and of the Gulf States, consult Bartram's *Travels*; *History of Louisiana*, by Du Pratz, London, 1763, in two volumes; *Report of the Chief of the Division of Forestry for 1891*, by B. E. Fernow, U. S. Department of Agriculture; *Britannica*, see under Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi; Fernow, "The Battle of the Forests, *Scien. Amer. Sup.*, (Jan. 19, 1895), vol. xxxix., p. 15,880.

The central section of this territory includes the Indian Territory, the States of Arkansas, New Mexico, and Arizona, and the Gulf States of Louisiana and Texas. Its coast presents many features in common with that to the east of it, being also a continuation of the elevated bed of the Gulf of Mexico. Along the low Texan coast occur the same marshes, with their network of creeks and bayous, the same long, narrow harbours at the river mouths, the same fringe of islands parallel with the shore, and the same shallow lagoons between.[1] Interposed between the highlands of Texas and Mississippi, the alluvial plain at the mouth of the Mississippi River lies chiefly below the level of the stream and falls away from its banks on either side in successive undulations. It narrows gradually to the north, with broad alluvial bottoms extending up the Red River and the Wichita. Its southern coast is a low, swampy region stretching inland for many miles.

North-westerly from the Texan shore and westerly from the alluvial plain of the Mississippi the land rises gradually in extensive rolling plains broken by the rugged semi-mountainous region of central Texas and the low range of the Ozarks in Arkansas, until it reaches the escarpments of the Staked Plains. As far north as the Canadian River extend the eastern confines of the latter in irregular bluffs due to erosion which has also excavated a broad depression between them and the rolling country to the east; along these escarpments the general level of the plain ascends quite abruptly to a still greater height, and the broad plateau sweeps on to the feet of the ranges on the confines of western Texas and in eastern New Mexico, where it rises to altitudes of five thousand and six thousand feet above the sea.[1]

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[1] For the physiography of the central division, consult *Britannica*, see under Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Indian Territory, New Mexico, and Arizona; "Reconnaissances of Routes from San Antonio to El Paso," etc., Thirty-first Congress, 1st Sess., *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 64;* and the various works previously referred to in this chapter.

The Cordilleras, which are here encountered, are composed of various ranges having a general drift from north to south with numerous transverse ranges and enclosed tablelands and plateaus of great extent. Comparatively narrow in Mexico, they widen out northward until in latitude forty degrees a breadth of about one thousand miles is attained. Southward from the group of lofty peaks in Colorado stretches the main range which forms the eastern flank of the Rockies. Below it, in south-eastern New Mexico, isolated mountain ranges rise abruptly out of the plains, towering six thousand and seven thousand feet above them. To the south-east, along the Rio Grande, lies a succession of isolated parallel ridges, all having the same general south-easterly and north-westerly trend.

Back of the north-eastern range lies the high plateau of the great Colorado, the "Continental Divide," which extends from central New Mexico as far north and west as the river whose name it bears, and descends in the south-western part of Arizona into the lowlands below by an abrupt transition of thousands of feet marked by a line of cliffs. This south-western plain is considerably lower than the eastern, especially along the lower courses of the Gila and Colorado Rivers. Here, and in southern New Mexico, the characteristic feature of southern ranges repeats itself again, and, as in south-eastern New Mexico, detached mountain masses of high altitude rise abruptly out of the plain.

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[1] Marcy's Report, Thirty-first Cong., *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 64*, p. 84; *Nature and Man*, p. 53.

"The territories of New Mexico and Arizona," says Mr. Bandelier,[1] constitute "a region remarkable for high average elevation above the sea-level. . . . The whole area forms, so to say, a pitched roof, whose northern gable end is much higher than the southern, so that there are three slopes: one to the west towards the Gulf of California, one to the east towards the Mississippi Valley, and a gradual decrease in the height of the mountain chains from Colorado down to the boundaries of Durango."

Here and there are volcanic ranges and craters long extinct. Over the tablelands are scattered cinder-cones and broken lava-beds, while occasional hot and mineral springs attest the forces latent below, and isolated rocks dominate the country for miles around. Through the great fissure of the southern escarpment in Arizona lavas have poured in places, marking the cliffs with volcanic rock, and have also penetrated into the basis of the plain abutting against the mountain region to the east, where erosion and atmospheric currents have hewn them into solitary table mountains or mesas, with flattened tops and nearly vertical sides—"one of the distinctive traits of south-western mountain scenery."[2] Like causes have cut deep cañons or gorges with narrow bottoms often six thousand or seven thousand feet above the sea-level, between towering walls of naked vertical rock, sometimes the black outpour of volcanic origin, more frequently stratified with bands of brilliant hues, and have wrought the sandstone into fantastic shapes of castle and column, and thermal springs abound. Down these narrow cañons flow the streams to mingle their waters with those of the Gulf of Mexico to the east, and of the Gulf of California to the west. The Arkansas, the Canadian, the Pecos, and the Rio Grande del Norte all take their rise in the mountains of northern New Mexico and of Colorado and ultimately empty their waters into the Gulf of Mexico.

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[1] *Final Rept.*, Pt. ii., p. 7.

[2] *Ibid.*, Pt. i., pp. 8, 10; "The Non-Irrigable Lands of the Arid Region," by J. W. Powell, *Century Magazine*, vol. xxxix., p. 921; Lt. J. H. Simpson's Report, Thirty-first Cong., *Senate Ex. Doc. No.* 64.

The Arkansas and the Canadian, descending the eastern slopes of the mountains, flow eastward to unite near the ninety-fifth degree of longitude in the present Indian Territory; thence pursuing a south-easterly course they pour their waters into the Mississippi. In its course across the Staked Plains the Canadian has hewn for itself a deep cañon. The Rio Grande del Norte, rising in the mountains of Colorado, flows south; leaving the White Cañon of the Tewan Mountains, it descends through a large valley, receiving small tributaries on either side until it reaches the thirty-second degree of latitude—the present site of El Paso, where it takes a south-westerly course. Beyond the mountains, which accompany it for some distance, it is joined by the Pecos, which from its source in north-eastern New Mexico follows almost a parallel course to the east, flowing in places through broad valleys, with a distinct line of cliffs along its eastern side, and finally cuts itself a deep cañon through the Staked Plains just above its junction with the Rio Grande.

These are the only streams which traverse the region of the plains. Of those which water the south-eastern slope, the Red, the Brazos, and the Colorado originate along the eastern edge of the Staked Plains; the Sabine, the Trinity, the San Marco, and the Nueces have their sources farther within the humid zone, and lastly in the narrow coast strip flow numerous tidal rivers and bayous. All of these lesser streams empty into the Gulf of Mexico with the single exception of the Red River, which is a tributary of the Mississippi.

The aridity of the region traversed by the course of the longer rivers produces a noticeable effect upon their flow of water.

"South of the Rio Chama," says Mr. Bandelier,[1] "the waters of not a single tributary of the Rio Grande reach the main artery throughout the whole year; the confluences of the Rio de Jemez, of the turbulent Puerco,[2] of the Pecos and of the Concho, are dry washes, except for a few hours in the rainy season."

Then they become torrents. The Rio Grande in the middle of its course and the Arkansas in the arid stretch directly east of the mountains run dry in seasons of great drought, and even the flow of the Red River, the Brazos, and the Colorado often ceases entirely in their upper courses. Only the streams and bayous of the narrow coast strip, the Wichita, the Sabine, and the lower courses of the Red and Arkansas are navigable at all stages of their waters.[3]

The rivers that flow to the west into the Gulf of California are the Colorado and its tributaries, the Green, the San Juan, the Colorado Chiquito, and the Gila. Rising in the mountainous region of the north, the Green and the Grand unite in one stream on the north-western portion of the Great Divide to form the Rio Colorado. The latter, plunging for nearly five hundred miles through mighty cañons, its bed at times six thousand feet below the level of the plateau above, pursues a westerly and then a south-westerly course, until, emerging from the Grand Cañon into the valley of its lower course, it turns south and pours its mighty flood into the Gulf of

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[1] *Final Rept.*, Pt. i., p. 17.

[2] Lt. Simpson's Report, p. 71.

[3] *Final Rept.*, Pt. i., p. 33; "Irrigable Lands," p. 771; *Britannica*, see under Texas. The Colorado and Red Rivers were probably barred at that period by impassable timber rafts; see Col. J. E. Johnston's Report, Thirty-first Cong., *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 64*, p. 39.

California at its apex. Along the thirty-seventh parallel of latitude, near the present northern confines of Arizona, it unites with the westward flowing San Juan and a little farther to the south-west with the Rio Chiquito, both of which flow down the western slopes of the great tableland of the Divide. Its last affluent is the Gila, which also flows west across the low plain at the foot of the great plateau and joins the Colorado at a point about forty miles above its mouth, the present site of Fort Yuma near the border line between the United States and Mexico.

Like its confrères of the east the Gila carries usually no more water to the Colorado than an ordinary brook; but the latter, for most of its course, is always a mighty river. With both of these streams, as well as with the Rio Grande, it is only at the melting of the snows on the mountains in May and June that they are at their highest and overflow their banks, for the rains do not swell them in any permanent manner. Of all these rivers only the Rio Grande del Norte and parts of its affluents, the Chama, the Jemez, the Pecos, and the Puerco, and the Upper Gila and the San Juan irrigate large valleys.[1]

West of the Mississippi River and within the region under the influence of the Gulf Stream the country was forest-clad to some extent, but it is impossible at this date to determine its limits with any degree of certainty. Speaking of their present conditions, Mr. Shaler[2] says: "Undoubtedly the timberless character of the prairie country for at least two hundred miles west of the Mississippi is in the main due to the constant burning over of the surface by the aborigines." There is ample evidence of a date somewhat later than that of the Spanish discovery, that the Indians, not only of the plains, but of the eastern section of our country, were in the habit of burning over the prairies and savannahs and firing the forest undergrowth,[1] a usage which could have a marked influence upon the subsequent forest growth of a district once burnt over and then deserted. For where a fire has consumed the trees, it by no means follows that the same characteristic will mark the new growth. Many species of the broadleaf trees sprout freely from the roots when killed back by fire, and a region once covered with pine may after repeated firings grow up in oak or less valuable deciduous trees.[2]

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[1] *Final Rept.*, Pt. i., pp. 17, 18, 156.

[2] "Phys. of N. Am.," *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. iv., p. vii.

In the east with its frequent and copious rainfalls the destruction committed by a forest conflagration is far less extensive than in the arid and rainless region of the west, where an Indian fire, or the flame engendered by the friction of branches tossed in the wind, may sweep over the great areas of timber-land, consuming all before it.[3] For these reasons it is possible to approximate only in a general way to the conditions which existed four hundred years ago.

What forests there were west of the Mississippi and along the Gulf of Mexico partook much of the characteristics of those already described. In the "drowned lands" of Louisiana, in the swamps and marshes along the Texan shore, were cypress and mangrove, live-oak and magnolia. Beyond this, as far south as the Colorado, stretched the pine belt of the Atlantic and Gulf coast, penetrated here and there by the prairies, which in southern Texas extended right down to the shore.[1] Up the broad river valleys grew the pecan, the cypress, the cottonwood, and several species of oak.

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[1] Bartram, writing in 1791, says: "In all the flat countries of Carolina and Florida . . . the rivers are in some degree turgid . . . owing to the annual firing of the forests and plains," p. 225; in the account of Cabeça de Vaca and Dorantes, given in *Oviedo*, vol. iii., p. 600, it is said of the Texans: "É tambien algunas veces matan venados, é ponen fuego á la tierra é savanas para los matar"; and in the "Naufragios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca," in Barcia, *Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias*, vol. i., cap. xviii., p. 21, Cabeça relates that the country was fired to destroy the mosquitoes.

[2] The substance of the statement here made as to the vitality of trees subject to forest fires was obtained in conversation with Mr. Gifford Pinchot, Forester of the Department of Agriculture.

[3] "Non-Irrigable Lands," *k.*, p. 919.

West of this the prairies began, a combination of prairie and forest, in which the former greatly predominated. Along the rivers and watercourses, upon the hills and in many lowland districts, the forests of oak, mesquite, and hickory spread in great promontories, in isolated patches, or ran for miles in irregular belts, independent of rivers and streams. Surrounding them, like a great sea, stretched the rolling plains, covered with long, luxurious mesquite, grama and other grasses, and gaudy flowers.[2] Pressing farther west, across the semi-arid zone, the trees along the margins of the rivers diminished in size and number, the extent of isolated forests grew less, the brilliant flowers faded, the rich grasses vanished, and the ground gradually became more naked, with bunch-grass here and there. Finally both trees and herbage gave way to the thorny cactus, the yuca with its sharp, bayonet leaves, and the sage-bush, and then the arid plains proper were reached, their confines rigidly determined for all time, repulsive, dry, scorching, and wind-swept, devoid alike of water and vegetation. These great plains terminate at some distance east of the Rio Grande, but include the eastern portion of New Mexico, from whence they sweep north along the base of the mountains.[3]

On the mountain region and on the high tableland of the Divide the Spirit of Drought has also laid its withering hand. High up on the mountain-sides are found pine forests of the cone-bearers, not uniformly clothing them, but distributed in groves of pine, spruce, hemlock, or fir; but many of the ranges are strikingly naked and destitute of trees and vegetation. Scant forests of scrub-oak, long, straggling piñon or nut-pine, gnarled cedars, and wild juniper cover the flat tops of the mesas and the crests of the lesser mountains. Here and there on the higher plateaus are more stately forests, while on the arid plain spread broad patches of mesquite scattered thickly over an area of several acres, and arid stretches of wild juniper. Down most of the valleys are scattered in groves the cottonwood, the pine, the fir, and the willow; others are quite destitute, with only the all-pervading dwarf-pine, scrub-cedar, and mesquite.

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[1] "Indian Migrations," by Lewis H. Morgan in Beach's *Indian Miscellany*, p. 166. Albany, 1877 (reprinted from the *North American Review*, Oct., 1869, and Jan., 1870, Boston).

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[3] "Non-Irrigable Lands," *l.c.*, p. 915; *Final Rept.*, Pt. i., pp. 9, 23.

The descent from the high altitudes of the Colorado plateau into the lowlands and a more southern latitude are accompanied by a corresponding change in vegetation, sometimes very marked and sudden, as along the banks of the Gila. Here the yuca lifts its spiked leaves, the opuntiæ blossom, strange flowering plants appear, and prickly pear and cacti are present everywhere, the latter sometimes of gigantic dimensions.[1]

Throughout all the region under the climatic influence of the Cordilleras the winters become longer and more extreme. Across the Texan plain come piercing "northers" and terrible sleets, so cold, says the first European who visited that region over three hundred years ago, that when they blow in the winter even the fishes freeze in the sea.[2] In the mountains themselves there is considerable local variation of climate due to change in altitude and the deflection of the winds arising from the location of the mountain chains; but generally, except in the highest altitudes, the changes are not so excessive, and the extremes of fluctuation lie between ninety degrees in summer and twelve degrees below zero in cold winters.[1]

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[1] *Final Rept.*, Pt. i., pp. 9, 19, 20; "Non-Irrigable Lands," p. 916; "Lt. Simpson's Report," pp. 66, 73, 74, etc.

[2] "Phys. of N. Am.," *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. iv., p. vi.; Michler's Report in Thirty-first Cong., *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 64*, p. 36. The relation in *Oviedo*, vol. iii., p. 592, says of the Norte in Texas: "Quando vienta el Norte por invierno, que aun los pescados se hielan, dentro de la mar, de frio." (!)

The western division includes the country lying west of the Rio Colorado to the Pacific, the southern extremity of the present State of Nevada, and the State of California. West of the Cordilleras the great plateau of the Sierra Nevada declines in transverse ridges and valleys down to the low valley of California, and between the latter and the Pacific lies the Coast Range. South of the Sierra Nevada, the ranges of San Rafael and San Bernardino stretch diagonally from the coast south-east in the direction of the Rio Colorado, enclosing between the river and the Sierra Nevada the Great Colorado Desert, arid and infertile. To the north, the narrow mountainous coast region, well watered by the moisture from the Pacific, is fertile and enjoys a climate of surpassing excellence; and south of the ranges of San Rafael and San Bernardino the same conditions prevail.[2]

Over this vast extent of country game of every description abounded. Through the forests of the east and along the wooded coast of Texas ranged the white-tailed Virginia deer; in the hills the elk was still found; black bears wandered through forests and swamps, feeding in Florida upon the ripe fruit of the orange groves and coming down to the shore to dig up out of the sand the eggs of the green turtle, of which they were exceedingly fond. Wolves, wildcats, and catamounts preyed upon the game; about the seacoast opossums and raccoons grew fat on fish and oysters, and rabbits scurried through the undergrowth and over the meadows. In the highlands otters and beavers burrowed in the banks of the stream and built their dams across its bed.[1] In southern Texas, along the banks of the Rio Grande, the sub-tropical fauna of Mexico made its appearance,—the peccory, the armadillo, and the jaguar, the largest of American felines.[2]

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[1] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 16, 17.

[2] There is evidence in the relations of Cabrillo and Vizcaino that forests existed on the Pacific coast which have since disappeared.

Everywhere the swamps were alive with alligators, lizards, rattlesnakes, and moccasins. In the woods and ponds were wild turkeys, wild ducks of many species, and doves. Nor were birds of prey wanting, the eagle, the hawk, the vulture, and nature's scavenger, the buzzard. The rivers were as abundantly stocked with fish. The long, shallow lagoons of the coast teemed with rock, bass, drum, and mullet, the great tarpon and others of their kind, often beautifully colored, where they became the prey of the alligator, and in more southern waters of the green turtle and of predacious hunters of their own species. Oysters, crabs, shrimp, and clams throve in the bays and lagoons.[3]

In the region west of the Mississippi, between the lowlands of Louisiana and the Rio Grande, south into Mexico, and from the Gulf coast north-west, beyond the present boundaries of the United States, roamed the monarch of the prairies. Mr. J. A. Allen, in his exhaustive monograph on the American bison,[4] thinks it highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that at the period of the Spanish discovery, the bison was not found in the Gulf States, east of the Mississippi and south of the Carolinas, although at a later period it penetrated into the lower valley of the Mississippi.

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[1] Bartram's *Travels*, pp. 46, 103, 281; *Britannica*, see under Mississippi; *The Territory of Florida*, pp. 63, 64, by John Lee Williams, New York, 1837.

[2] *Britannica*, see under Texas; Dr. C. Hart Merriam, *Second Provisional Bio-Geographic Map of North America*, March, 1892.

[3] Bartram's *Travels*, pp. 67, 68; *Britannica*, see under Mississippi.

[4] "History of the American Bison—*Bisonus Americanus*," by J. A. Allen, *Ninth Ann. Rept. U. S. Geological Survey*. 1877, p. 443; Bandelier, "Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States," *Arch. Inst. of Am.*, p. 28, note 2, and p. 54, note 2, gives a collection of authorities by which he determines the south-eastern and south-western range of the bison in the sixteenth century.

Enormous herds of bison, extending as far as the eye could reach, swept over the grassy plains in search of pasture and water. Their course was marked by a great column of dust visible even when the herd was hidden from sight; by well-worn trails extending from river to river; by huge wallows, where in the spongy ooze a half-naked beast had rolled himself in the mud, which, baked by the sun, became a protecting armour from the sting of innumerable flies; and by the bleaching bones of unwary stragglers who had fallen victims to their only enemy besides man, the prairie-wolf, like themselves a denizen of the plains. Prairie fires and the ravages of the grasshopper frequently compelled the herds to cover great distances in search of food, but Mr. Allen believes that their migrations north and south did not exceed a few hundred miles according to the rigour of the season.[1]

Extensive communities of prairie-dogs also inhabited the plains; their little mounds sometimes covered a large area and they fed upon the grasses, which they kept cropped so close that the new growth springing up presented the appearance of a bright lawn.[2] With them were their constant companions, the rattlesnake and the owl.

Farther west, in the mountains of Arizona and New Mexico, and in those of western Texas, were mountain sheep and elk, wildcats, and grizzly bears. Over the plains the black-tailed deer and the antelope grazed, the coyote and the wolf hunted. Farther south the jaguar prowled, and over the entire region ran badgers, hares, and rabbits, while the prairie-dog occupied the level spaces.[1] Wild turkeys, ducks, and wild geese frequented the woods and waters. In the high and dry mountain regions the crow and raven reigned supreme, "almost an integral part of the landscape," says Mr. Bandelier, and high overhead soared the eagle.

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[1] "Hist. of the Am. Bison," p. 465.

[2] Michler's Report, Thirty-first Cong., *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 64*, p. 48; Capt. Marcy's Report, *ibid.*, pp. 184, 185; Kendall's *Santa Fé Expedition*, vol. i., p. 188, New York, 1844.

"Still," adds the same authority,[2] "animal life is far from being prominent on the whole. Nature in the south-west is rather solemn than lively. . . . There is a stillness prevailing which produces a feeling of quiet and solemnity well adapted to the frame of pine-clad mountains, with their naked clefts and rents, or huge, picturesque crags, from which one looks down on mesas and basins, beyond which the eye occasionally escapes towards an unbounded horizon, over arid valleys and barren plains, with the jagged outline of other ranges far away, where the dark blue sky seems to rise or to rest."

It is a mooted question whether or not the western horse, so plentiful to-day in Texas and elsewhere, is indigenous. There are weighty reasons to substantiate its claim to original citizenship; but it is none the less certain that not one of the early explorers who traversed the southern portion of our country gives the remotest hint of its existence; a matter they would most assuredly not have failed to note. Whatever conclusion may be ultimately reached as to its existence elsewhere, it seems impossible to doubt that it was absolutely unknown throughout the southern belt at the date of the Spanish discovery.

Of the so-called nobler metals, in the pursuit of which both pagan and Christian have so often doomed their fellow-men to destruction, gold exists in the eastern range of the Appalachians, in a belt which extends from Alabama and Georgia, far to the north, and in New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Silver, which as yet has not been found in the Appalachians, lies beneath the eastern slopes of the Sierra Nevada.[1] Other metals are also abundant in both ranges.[2] Coal and iron are almost everywhere in the mountain regions, although the best coal deposits are in the east, those of the Cordilleras being poor in quality; South Carolina, Florida, and Mississippi are practically without coal.

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[1] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 23; *Britannica*, see under Texas; Capt. Marcy's Report, p. 201; Capt. L. Sitgreaves, *Report of an Expedition down the Zuñi and Colorado Rivers*, Thirty-third Congress, 1st Sess., Senate.

[2] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 25.

In the east, along the gold belt just referred to, precious stones, diamonds, and emeralds have been found, but, like the gold of the same region, not in paying quantities. In New Mexico and Arizona are mines of turquoise much prized by the natives, and in Arizona lies the wonderful forest of agatised wood. In several of the rivers of the east grow mussels which yield pearls in considerable quantities, and they are also found upon the California coast.[3]

We have now passed in review, in a very general way, the wide domain stretching from sea to sea, which to-day forms a part of our common country. In the following chapters we will briefly examine the habits of life and the customs of its masters.

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[1] *A Text-Book of Mineralogy*, E. S. and J. D. Dana, New York, 1877.

[2] "Phys. of N. Am.," *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. iv., pp. viii. and ix.

[3] *Leisure Hours Among the Gems*, A. C. Hamlin, Boston, 1884; *Precious Stones*, S. M. Burnham, Boston, 1886.

CHAPTER II

THE NATIVES AND THEIR CUSTOMS

WHEN first visited by the Spaniard our continent was inhabited by copper-coloured natives to whom, regardless of great diversity of type throughout its vast extent, the one name of Indian was generally applied by all European explorers alike. Throughout the southern strip of the United States described in the previous chapter there were necessarily variations of local types arising from different causes,[1] some of which did not escape the observation of the early explorers; but as a rule there was found a sturdy, vigorous race having the straight black hair and the high cheek-bones generally characteristic of the North American Indian and having the peculiar olive admixture to the cinnamon complexion, common to all southern tribes.

Their dress varied from the absolute nakedness of the Yuma population along the Colorado, who in cold weather carried a burning torch with which to warm themselves, to the cotton-clad Indian of the Pueblos. In the east the long grey moss of the cypress, the interior bark of trees, the woven leaves of the palmetto, along the Pacific coast the skirt of combed-out bulrushes, furnished a covering for the women, and all over the country the deftly dressed hides of deer, bison, and other furred animals provided both sexes with shirt, breech-clout or skirt, with moccasin and gaiter, with cloak and mantle.

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[1] Such, for example, as skull deformation of infants observed throughout the Gulf territories; Albert S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, vol. i., p. 51, Philadelphia, 1884. Skull deformation was practised also by Tula Indians west of the Mississippi River; Garsilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca*, lib. iv., cap. xiii., p. 190, Madrid, 1723.

The distribution of the Indian over this vast territory was governed by the prime necessity of food, and therefore by the proximity of water where fish could be caught, and of forest where game could be tracked, for the horse was unknown to him; he hunted the deer and bison with the bow and arrow and followed them on his own sturdy legs. For this reason the great prairie region lying between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains was the least inhabited portion of the country and was practically a solitude at the period of European discovery.[1] Only where the game found cover, along the wooded margin of the rivers, in the belts of forest bordering the prairies, and the wooded promontories projecting into them, and wherever marsh or lake afforded its store of fish, roamed wandering tribes, who, having frightened away the game and fished out the waters in one locality, struck and packed their portable tents upon their womenkind, or her companion beast of burden, the dog, and migrated to another source of food supply.[2] These were the Arabs of the prairie, dispersed over its face in nomadic and isolated groups, following the courses of the rivers and chasing the bison, who was to them the living and travelling storehouse of all that they required for their subsistence.

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[1] "Indian Migrations," Beach's *Indian Miscellany*, p. 169.

[2] Mention of the wandering tribes of the plains is made in "Naufragios de Alvar Nuñiez Cabeça de Vaca," in Barcia, *Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales*, tomo i., fol. 22, 28; "Relacion de la jornada de Cibola, compuesta por Pedro de Castañeda de Naçera," *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 440, 442, 444, 456; "Relacion del suceso de la jornada que hizo Hernando de Soto," etc., por Luis Hernandez de Biedma, *Coleccion de Varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida*, etc., p. 59; Elvas, "Virginia Richly Valued," in *The Voyages of the English Nation to America*, from Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. ii., p. 616; vol. iii., p. 34, Edinburgh, 1889.

East and west of them dwelt the sedentary or village Indians. From the Mississippi to the Atlantic coast, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Tennessee Mountains were scattered their stockaded villages.[1] At the head of the bays and inlets, along the coast where fish and oysters abounded, along the river bank and at its fork, on the fertile hummock of the everglade, around the teeming lake, on the borders of the flowering savannahs, were dotted groups of permanent huts or wigwams, to which the occupant returned after his protracted absence on the hunt or on the war-path. But it was in the region west of the prairies, on the high tableland of Arizona and New Mexico, that dwelt the typical sedentary or Pueblo Indian.[2] Here the aridity of the climate compelled him to seek the watercourses.[3] On the bottoms of the river cañon, or perched on the top of the neighbouring mesa, was the great communal village house with its superposed stories, dominating tower, and roof entrances.

Although American ethnologists have classified the Indian as wandering and sedentary in order to distinguish the village builder with his more permanent home from his roving brother of the plains, it should be borne in mind that the distinction is merely relative, and that the village Indian was not attached to one locality in the sense in which the word is generally used. East and west alike a village would be abandoned and a new one erected on a site more or less remote for a variety of controlling reasons, among which figured superstitious motives, security from hostile attack, failure of food supply, and exposure to flood. But with these reservations it may be stated that at the time of the discovery the Indian tribes were in the main more sedentary than subsequent to the introduction among them of the horse.[1]

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[1] Stockaded or walled villages mentioned: Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 591, 599; Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 54, 59; De Bry, *Brevis Narratio*, tab. xxx., Francoforti ad Moenum, MDXCI.; "Oppidorum apud Floridenses structura."

[2] A. F. Bandelier, *Final Report of the Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States*, etc., Pt. I., p. 118.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

The Indian was pre-eminently a warrior and a hunter. In the chase his wonderful agility disclosed itself. In the disguise of a wolf and with the animal's peculiar lope he stole upon the bison quietly grazing over the prairie in the moonlight.[2] Capped with the dried head of the deer, its skin pendent over his shoulders, to hide if necessary his hands and arms, he cautiously approached the timid deer in its native haunts, or rivalling him in endurance and fleetness of foot coursed him all day without fatigue, and finally captured him alive.[3] With a short stick in his hand he would deftly strike and kill the hare. At other times he fired the forest, driving the frightened game before the flames to where it could be easily slaughtered.[4] He fished with net and hook, constructed enclosures in which the fish were trapped, and on the Pacific coast used the harpoon tipped with a fish bone.[5]

As a warrior the Indian was both brave and cunning. He did not hesitate to sally out on the war-path alone, or with two or three companions at most. Creeping stealthily along in single file, his footsteps planted in his leader's tracks, or perhaps wearing sandals to disguise the direction of his advance,[1] he fought in ambuscade[2] and availed himself of every deceit and treachery to circumvent his foe. There was nothing to be gained by unnecessary exposure, there was every advantage in concealment with its surprise, the secret and mysterious movements of a small band swelling it, in the bewildered imagination of its enemy, to the numerical proportions of a host. The records of De Leon, De Soto, Coronado, and others sufficiently attest his indomitable courage. Most of the early writers bear tribute to his skill with bow and arrow, quickly finding the weak places in the armour of his Spanish antagonist and piercing it through. Cabeça de Vaca saw an arrow penetrate a poplar tree to the depth of a palm and a mark attained at a distance of two hundred paces; while the Indian of the plains could send his shaft through a bison, provided it did not come in contact with a rib.[3]

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[1] Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 32, 155; II., p. 21; J. W. Powell, "Indian Linguistic Families of America, North of Mexico," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 30, 31, 38, 39; Morgan, "Migrations," Beach's *Indian Miscellany*, p. 169.

[2] G. B. Grinnell, *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-Tales*, pp. 246 *et seq.*, New York, 1893; A. F. Bandelier, *The Delight Makers*, p. 63, note 1.

[3] Du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, vol. ii., p. 59, London, 1763; De Bry, "Cervorum venatio," tab. xxv.; "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xviii., p. 21.

[4] "Naufragios," *Ibid.*, cap. xviii., p. 21, xxix., p. 32; Bartram's *Travels*, p. 151.

[5] Fishing, see: Bazares, "Compte-Rendu," in *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride* of Ternaux-Compans, pp. 147, 148; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 418; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 613; "Relacion, ó diario, de la navegacion que hizo Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo con dos navios," etc., *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 181, 186; W. H. Holmes, "Art in Shell of the Ancient Americans," *Second Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 208; "Narrative of the Voyage of Captain Sebastian Vizcaino in the year 1602," Venegas's *History of California*, vol. ii., p. 275, London, 1759.

The scalping of an enemy prevailed among all of the native tribes,[4] and Mr. Bandelier believes that the Indian thought thus to secure as his servant the spirit of the former possessor of the scalp.[1] The Indian painted himself in symbolic colours before going into battle,[2] fasted and prayed, the latter perhaps in the guise of a gift to the medicine-man who prognosticated for him the lucky moment for the attack, and on his successful return celebrated his victory by appropriate dances and ceremonies, and by the torture of his war prisoners, if he chanced to have taken any.

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[1] Bandelier so describes the war sandals of the Tehua, which leave a round impression. *The Delight Makers*, p. 323.

[2] Ambuscade and Indian mode of fighting: "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. vii., p. 8, xxiv., p. 27, xxv., p. 28; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 557; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii. pp. 413, 468; Fray Augustin Dauila Padilla, *Historia de la Fundacion y discurso de la Prouincia de Santiago de Mexico*, etc., lib. i., cap. lxiv.–lxvi., pp. 251 *et seq.*, Madrid, 1596.

[3] "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. vii., p. 8, viii., p. 10; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 557; *Dauila Padilla*, lib. i., cap. lxiv., p. 253; Hernando d'Escalante Fontanedo, "Mémoire sur la Floride," *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride* of Ternaux-Compans, pp. 23, 33; John B. Dunbar, "The Pawnee Indians, their Habits and Customs," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. v., p. 332.

[4] Prevalence of scalping: Albert S. Gatschet, *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, vol. i., p. 167; "Pawnee Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. v., p. 326; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 413, 464, 468; *Dauila Padilla*, lib. i., cap. lxv., p. 260; De Bry, "Outinæ milites ut cæsis hostibus utantur," tab. xv.; "Trophæum et solennes ritus devictis hostibus," tab. xvi.

There was hardly a tribe that did not practise agriculture in some slight degree, although nowhere so extensively as to free its members from the hunter's or fisher's art. The agriculture, or more correctly the horticulture, of the Indian, as Mr. Morgan calls it,[4] because of its small extent, was more general among the semi-sedentary tribes east of the Mississippi River.[5] How small the results of even their plantings were, the early colonists learned to their cost, when they undertook to live off the produce raised by the single efforts of the natives. It is true that the chroniclers of De Soto describe fruitful corn-fields and full granaries in some parts of the country which they traversed, but side by side stand pictures of famine and destitution. It is well known that the Indian was but partly dependent upon this source of supply.[1]

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[1] *The Delight Makers*, p. 425; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 153; and the idea appears to be present in the "Ghost Scalp Story," in *Pawnee Hero Stories*, p. 386. Mr. Cushing informs me that the Zuñi scalp the enemy with the idea of propitiating him, and treat the scalp with great respect in order to win his soul. As after being dried it foretells the weather by becoming moist, they believe that the spirits breathe upon it.

[2] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 604, gives a graphic description of the painting of the Chickasaw braves; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 414, describes face painting, as does also "The course which Sir Francis Drake held," etc., *Hak.*, vol. iv., p. 43. Pawnees painted the body black as the colour for war, *Pawnee Hero Stories*, p. 268. *Davila Padilla*, lib. i., cap. lxiii., pp. 248, 249, relates that with the Cocas white indicated peace, and red, war.

[3] J. W. Powell, "Indian Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 42.

[4] "Indian Migrations," Beach's *Indian Miscellany*, p. 199.

[5] "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 45.

East of the Mississippi River the plentiful rainfall made the cultivation of the fields an easier matter, and here the women, to whom, with but rare exceptions, such labour was relegated, cultivated only small patches of alluvial land upon the margins of rivers and lakes, and such shreds of prairie as they were able to dig over;[2] but in the elevated and arid homes of the Pueblos west of the prairie the men shared, at least in part, with the women in the arduous task; the *arróyos*, or mountain streams were diked and dammed to retain a little mould in a humid place for the purpose of cultivation; the *acéquia*, or artificial channel, was dug from the river or brook to irrigate the bottom lands along the valley, and garden beds were laboriously constructed of soil carefully collected and walled in to be watered only by the summer rainfall.[3] Even the shifting tribes of the plains during their transient stoppages would scratch the surface of the prairie and cultivate a little corn.

The Indian had but one cereal, the maize or Indian corn, and on this his agriculture was based; his vegetables were the two indigenous plants of squash and beans, which continually reappear in the relations of the different discoverers. To these were added in certain areas the tobacco, the cotton, the onion, and a certain species of pepper.[4] Among the Pueblos the tobacco was not known until the Spanish rule established it.[5] On the other hand the cotton plant appears to have been confined entirely to the village Indians of Arizona and New Mexico, and even among them its cultivation was restricted to certain localities.[1]

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[1] "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 415, 416, 489.

[2] "Indian Migrations," Beach's *Indian Miscellany*, pp. 199, 200.

[3] "Indian Migrations," *Ibid.*, p. 200; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 61 and note, 62, 156; Pt. II., p. 17.

[4] "Indian Migrations," Beach's *Indian Miscellany*, p. 198.

[5] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 37; tobacco was known on the Pacific coast, "The course which Sir Francis Drake," etc., *Hak.*, vol. iv., p. 42, and in Texas, "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xxvi., p. 28.

The implements with which this primitive agriculture was practised were as rude as the agriculture itself. "The North American Indian probably used the common stone chisel, set in a handle like a pick, as a pointed instrument to break the soil; but even this is partly conjectural," adds Mr. Morgan; "a stick or stone was the usual instrument."[2] Perhaps in the absence of stone implements, the shoulder-blade of a large animal was bound by thongs to a handle, as formerly among the Pawnees, and performed the duty of a rudimentary hoe.

The Indian village consisted of a group of lodges, or of one or more large communal buildings constructed of materials varying with the climate and the locality. East of the Mississippi, among the semi-sedentary tribes of the Gulf States, the huts in the more southern parts were of wattle roofed with palm branches. Farther north the exterior and interior of the timbered lodges were smeared with clay.[3] In the absence of deer-skins the wandering tribes of the plains made their tents of the tanned hides of the bison carefully sewed together,[4] or they erected tepees of rush mats, or of the boughs and branches of trees, or possibly in the more northerly regions had their permanent earth lodges during the winter cold.[5] The Pueblo tribes of the Rockies built their square or oblong communal village of untooled stone, adobe, clay, and ash,[1] and the coast tribes of the Pacific dwelt in peaked huts of earth-covered poles.[2] Here and there along the mountain cañons of the west caves and cavate dwellings were still inhabited, and possibly along the Gulf coast caves partially worked out of the ground were in use.[3]

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[1] The cotton was not grown in Zuñi. *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 37.

[2] "Indian Migrations," Beach's *Indian Miscellany*, p. 199; Laudonnière describes a wooden hoe, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 415; De Bry, tab. xxi., shows use of primitive instruments, such as shells, etc.

[3] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 556, 573; Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 50; *La Floride, Recueil de Pièces*, etc., p. 261.

[4] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 59; Castañeda, 1a pte., cap. xix., *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 440; "The Pawnee Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, iv. p. 272; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 8, describes tent of coloured deer-skins.

[5] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 165; *Pawnee Hero Stories*, p. 266.

The organisation of the village varied considerably. East of the Mississippi River some of the Creek villages were provided with a central square or place of assembly called the market-place by the historians of De Soto, which was surrounded by the "great house," where chiefs and braves met for debate or amusement, where public matters were transacted and where travellers found entertainment.[4] Here were gathered the granaries and storehouses;[5] the "council-house" was usually constructed upon the top of an artificial mound for the sake of strength and protection.[6] In New Mexico and Arizona the large communal building had an enclosed court of its own, or a group of such houses was constructed to surround a square or court. Either in the court or in the immediate neighbourhood of the village was the *estufa*, or sudatory, an assembly hall built partly under ground, which served as council-chamber for the men and for the performance of many of their dances and ceremonials. The council-house of the east, and the estufa of the west were the gathering places of the men on important occasions whether for discussion or amusement. A peculiar feature common to all these village Indians was the use of the estufa and council-house as a sudatory or sweat-bath for the men.[1] Along the Pacific coast the huts clustered around the central common.[2]

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[1] Powell, *First Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. xxx.; Castañeda, 2a pte., cap. iv., *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 451.

[2] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 183, 184, describes Pacific coast dwellings.

[3] Powell, *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. xx., xxi.; Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 50.

[4] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 568, 573. A village having a square is called a town by Gatschet, *Migration Legend*, vol. i., pp. 171 *et seq.*

[5] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 573.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 556. Mounds west of the Mississippi, see Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 58.

Whether in the village or on the march, the separate groups of lodges, or the neighbouring sections of the communal dwelling were occupied by related families who traced their consanguinity through the female line, for with but rare exceptions kinship was based upon descent from the mother and the group of families thus united formed the *clan* or *gens*, the unit of Indian social organisation. So close was this kinship that no man could marry in his own gens, but sought his wife in another clan, to which his child would belong and by which it would be reared and cared for in case of his death or incapacity in virtue of the mother-right. It was the clan that executed justice upon its members, or demanded the weir-geld for the murder of one of its associates. It was the clan that inherited the property of the individual, and in fact possessed in common most of the property.[3] It was the clan that provided with food those of its members unable to care for themselves.

It was the custom for the gens to assume a proper name by which it was known, usually that of some animal to which, in remote legendary past, it attributed its origin, which became the totem or patron of the clan, and to which it paid a certain kind of titulary reverence. Sometimes there existed between two or more gentes a union for religious purposes called a *phratry*, in which case also intermarriage was forbidden. The union of several of these gentes, allied by a common language, by consanguineal kinship through the male line, by affinity through marriage,[1] by a traditional community of origin, constituted a *tribe*. But in some instances such was the spirit of independence that clanship became dominant and tribal associations impossible.[2]

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[1] Creek council-house a sudatory, *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 174.

[2] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 183, 184.

[3] *Migration Legend*, pp. 152, 154 and note; J. W. Powell, "Wyandot Government," *First Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 59, 61, 63; Fiske, *Discovery of America*, vol. i., p. 56; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 140 and note, and p. 161; "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 34, 35.

The government of the village during times of peace resided in the civil chief, whose office was generally elective,[3] though in certain localities it had become hereditary in a particular clan. It was to him that the Spaniards gave the title of *Cacique*.[4] He was assisted by the council of old men, and among some of the tribes made known his decisions by a public crier.[5] In time of war, or on the war-path, the supremacy resided in the war-chief, who was also frequently elected.[6] As the Indian had no place in the tribe except that fixed by kinship, it followed that a tribe could be quickly depleted by disease or war, even entirely swept out of existence; it is not improbable that from this necessity of self-preservation originated the very general custom of adopting into some one clan of the tribe the prisoners taken in war.[7]

"Nowhere in North America," says Major Powell,[8] "have a people been discovered who had passed beyond this tribal society to a national society based upon property." Groups of villages are mentioned by early writers who call them confederacies,[1] and on the whole it appears more than probable that the Indian villages in a given neighbourhood would form a temporary alliance when the necessity for such arose and appoint a chief captain of their bands to conduct the particular offensive or defensive expedition; beyond this the captain's power did not extend. Thus among the Pueblo Indians, while there was no trace of a military confederacy, yet if one Pueblo called upon the other for assistance, the war-captain of the first was *ex-officio* commander-in-chief.[2] Occasionally a chief of superior intelligence may have asserted a temporary supremacy, may even have succeeded in transmitting it to his son, but the entire system of Indian life was opposed to its continuance and the conditions of constant warfare, hunting, and migration tended to foster the autonomy of the tribe or village, and to develop the liberty of action of the individual.

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[1] J. W. Powell, "Mythology of the North American Indians," *First Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 40, 60; *Discovery of America*, vol. i., pp. 69 and note, 70–72; "The Pawnee Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. iv., p. 260; "Wyandot Government," *First Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 59, 60; *Migration Legend*, vol. i., pp. 153, 156, 217.

[2] Such was the case with the wandering Navajos, who roamed about in single clans or parts of clans, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 175, 176.

[3] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 137; *Migration Legend*, vol. i., pp. 27, 156, 157; *Discovery of America*, vol. i., p. 72.

[4] "Cacique," *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 137, 139; "Council," *ibid.*, Pt. I., pp. 137 and note, 138 and note; *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 157; Carta de Juan Rogel, Pacheco's *Colleccion de Documentos Ineditos etc.*, vol. xiii., p. 302.

[5] "The Pawnee Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. iv., p. 262; *Pawnee Hero Stories*, p. 163.

[6] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 138; *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 160.

[7] "Wyandot Government," *First Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 68; *Discovery of America*, vol. i., p. 69.

[8] "Wyandot Government," *Ibid.*, p. 69.

Major Powell[3] has classified fifty-eight linguistic groups in all, believed not to have sprung from a common origin, and about one half of these groups includes tribes found south of the thirty-sixth degree of latitude; as a matter of fact each tribe spoke its own dialect and the kinship of linguistic origin is much more the discovery of recent investigators than the treasured tradition of the native. The Indian languages were of a very low grade,[4] their parts of speech imperfectly differentiated; adverbs and prepositions incorporated in verbs; voice, mood, and tense accomplished by the use of agglutinated particles or inflections and prepositions affixed to nouns. The nouns, besides denoting the object, assigned to it some quality or characteristic.[1] The verb, of relatively greater importance in the Indian than in a civilised tongue, often included within itself subject, direct object, indirect object, qualification, and relation idea. Gender was not merely a distinction of sex, but might serve to divide into primary classes of animate and inanimate,[2] watery, stony, and a variety of conditions of being.[3]

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[1] Such were probably the fifty villages of Carlos Indians mentioned by Fontanedo in his "Mémoire sur la Floride" in *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, p. 21; the Cado confederacy of the southern branch of the Pani in Texas (*Migration Legend*, vol. i., pp. 42, 43) if at that period they had reached Texas in their wanderings ("The Pawnee Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. iv., p. 251, and *Pawnee Hero Stories*, p. 227); the Taensa (*Migration Legend*, pp. 30, 31), the Natchez (*ibid.*, p. 34), and other groups of villages on or near the lower Mississippi at a later period.

[2] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 138, 139 and note.

[3] "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 26.

[4] J. W. Powell, "Evolution of Language," *First Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 8, 15.

The almost continual condition of warfare, accompanied as it was at times with the adoption of prisoners into the victorious tribe, the amalgamation of entire tribes arising frequently under similar circumstances, the isolation of a tribe arising from migrations, from its kindred speaking the same tongue, were all causes which must have exerted a serious influence in determining the formation of dialects,[4] and the necessity of an intertribal language must have quickly arisen whenever a migrating tribe made a more or less permanent settlement in the midst of foreign surroundings. Such a common speech, such a *lingua franca*, was, at a later period, the Chickasaw language spoken by many tribes inhabiting the shores of the lower Mississippi,[5] and something of the kind may have existed at an earlier period among the tribes east of the Mississippi; for De Soto found little apparent difficulty in making himself understood by means of his interpreter, a Spaniard who had been for some years in captivity among the Atlantic coast tribes.

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[1] Thus in the Hitchiti dialect of the Maskoki a mountain was called "yákni," that is, "ground-high," *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 81.

[2] Not the case in the Maskoki, *ibid.*, p. 55.

[3] "Evolution of Language," *First Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 9, 10, 11.

[4] *Migration Legend*, p. 11.

[5] List of tribes is given by d'Iberville, etc. Authorities, *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 95.

But aside from this it may be safely asserted that there was a common language, the fundamental principles of which were almost instinctively understood and applied, whether in the savannahs of Georgia, on the plains of Texas, in the cañons or on the steeps of the Rocky Mountains. This was the sign or gesture language so elaborately described in Lt. Garrick Mallery's essay on "The Sign Language among North American Indians."[1] Castañeda was impressed with the aptitude of the Indians of the plains in its use. Cabeça de Vaca, who crossed the continent from east to west through what is now the State of Texas, notes the facility with which he could be understood through this medium; a member of the unfortunate Coligny expedition records one of the particular signs in use on the Florida coast, and d'Iberville, two hundred years later, recounts the employment of the sign language on the Mississippi River.[2] It was and still is an imitative language; the Indian who lived close to nature saw it, despite his superstition, with a more discerning and critical eye than his civilised brother and could quickly evolve with hand and finger a gesture characteristic of his limited wants to those of kindred observation and experience.

It is improbable that the tribes under consideration had any notion of a Supreme Being;[3] it is true that such a traditional belief is found among some of them at this day,[1] but it is in all likelihood the result of Christian influence exercised either directly or indirectly upon them. But the Indian feared the powers of nature in their visible aspects, in their constant and inevitable influence upon his daily life, his success or failure in war or in the chase, the abundance or ruin of his crops, his recovery from or liability to disease. Wherever he could trace an apparent influence exercised over him by any object whatsoever, he at once endowed it with intelligent being and propitiated it either by sacrifice or prayer; for he was essentially superstitious. He reasoned after this fashion: The dead appear to me in my dreams, therefore they live again after death. The bison, the wolf, the deer speak to me in my sleep, therefore they are intelligent creatures that can do me either good or evil. Higher than this his mind did not reach.

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[1] *First Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 269, 1879–80.

[2] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 456; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 17; "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xxxi., p. 36; "Coppie d'une lettre venant de la Floride," in *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, p. 240; Margry, vol. iv., pp. 154, 155, cited in *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 113. The following may also be instances of the use of gesture speech: Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 35; "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. iii., p. 3; Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 431; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 449; "Lettres de Don Antonio de Mendoza à l'empereur Charles V.," in *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 295.

[3] This is the opinion of Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 51, 146;

A most widespread worship was that of the maize or Indian corn. It was found among the semi-sedentary tribes of the east, among the village Indians of New Mexico and Arizona, among the wandering tribes of the plains. Dances, feasts, and fasts were celebrated in its honour; from its varying tints were derived the symbolic meanings of the colours used in these ceremonies.[2] In some instances its worship may even have been attended with human sacrifice.[3] Sun and star worship also existed, but it was not the orb proper that the Indian adored, says Mr. Bandelier,[4] but some personal deity with whom

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Frank H. Cushing, "Zuñi Fetiches," *Second Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 11; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 413; G. Mallery, "Israelite and Indian: A Parallel in Planes of Culture," in *Popular Science Monthly*, vol. xxxvi., p. 59, November, 1889.

[1] "The Pawnee Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. viii., p. 735.

[2] Corn worship: *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 177; *Pawnee Hero Stories*, pp. 254, 370; "Zuñi Breadstuff," by Frank H. Cushing, in *The Millstone*, vol. ix., p. 1, 1884.

[3] "Pawnee Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. viii., p. 738.

[4] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 184.

the sun was connected either as his abode or ornament. Among the Natchez, at one time one of the most powerful and populous of the lower Mississippi tribes, sun worship had developed into an elaborate system accompanied with the maintenance of a perpetual fire and human sacrifice.[1] But its observance was very widespread. Cabeça de Vaca relates how the Texan tribes calculated the seasons by the rising of the stars,[2] which if true was probably attended with their worship; among the Pawnees even in this century human life was sacrificed to the morning star.[3] Closely allied to the planet worship was that of the cardinal points of the compass,[4] from which also were derived symbolical colours of religious significance.

Most widely prevalent also was animal worship. The Indian associated with the animal world on terms of recognised equality;[5] he even went farther, and as previously stated, attributed to the bear, the wolf, the serpent, and the other wild denizens of the forest and plain certain mysterious powers for good or evil which could be influenced by one acquainted with the proper art. Assistance extended to one of their number was apt to be requited either by assured success in the chase, rapid promotion in tribal dignities, or in whatever pursuit was dearest to the Indian's soul. Among themselves, the animals were organised after the fashion of men in clans or lodges[1] and were considered by the Indian the primitive inhabitants of the earth.

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[1] *Migration Legend*, vol. i., pp. 34, 35, 36; sun worship was found in the Floridian peninsula: *ibid.*, p. 13; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 414, 463; De Bry, tab. xxxv., in "Cerui exuvio Soli consecrando solennes ritus"; among the Yuchees, *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 17; among the Creeks, *ibid.*, pp. 51, 182, 216; among the Pueblos, Castañeda, 2a pte., cap. iii., *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 450; on the Pacific coast, Vizcaino in Venegas, vol. ii., p. 276; human sacrifice among the Carlos Indians, Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 482; Ensayo, Año MDLXVI., fol. 94; De Bry, "Primogeniti solennibus ceremonijs Regi sacrificantur," tab. xxxiv.

[2] "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xxii., p. 25.

[3] "Pawnee Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. viii., pp. 736, 739; *Pawnee Hero Stories*, pp. 357, 362, 363.

[4] Cardinal points: Creeks, *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 245; Pueblos, *The Delight Makers*, p. 147.

[5] "Mythology," *First Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 23; "Zuñi Fetiches," *Second Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 11.

There was still another phase of superstition governed by no regular law or system beyond the fancy or experience of the individual, in which an object revealed in a dream, or which may have attracted his attention in an emergency, as when making a lucky shot or escaping from an enemy, became invested in his mind with supernatural power to protect or to bring good luck. It might be a bone, a shell, the claws of a bird, a curiously shaped rock or a crystal, whatever it was, he carried it constantly with him as a talisman or charm.[2] This fetish was frequently revealed at the Indian boy's initiation into manhood, when in fasting and solitude, or under the influence of a dream-producing draught, such as existed in every tribe,[3] he sought from the superior beings by which he believed himself surrounded, directions as to his course through life.

The Indian had several ways of propitiating the mysterious hosts that hemmed him in; by sacrifice, by prayer, attended or not by certain ceremonial observances, and finally through the conjurations of the shamans or medicine-men. That human sacrifice entered into some of the religious observances has been shown in connection with sun worship; it appears not improbable that the sacrifice of the scalp of the enemy,[1] and the torture of the prisoner taken in war,[2] have the same origin.

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[1] Clans, "Mythology," *First Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 40; lodges, *Pawnee Hero Stories*, pp. 358, 361.

[2] "Mythology," *ibid.*, p. 41; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 41 and note, 51 and note.

[3] Reference to such drug or drink is found in: "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, cap. xviii., p. 21, xxvii., pp. 28, 29; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii. p. 415; De Bry, tab. xxix.; "La Reprinse de la Floride par le Cappitaine Gourgue," *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, pp. 335, 360; "La Floride ou Histoire merueilleuse," etc., "du Capitaine Iean Ribaut," *ibid.*, p. 263; "Mythology," *First Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 40; *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 177. Mr. Bandelier, in *The Delight Makers*, p. 155, says that intoxicating drinks were unknown to the New Mexican Pueblos prior to the advent of the white man.

Almost every act of the Indian was attended by prayer, accompanied or not by feasts and dances. Castañeda describes the prayer plumes of the Pueblo Indian in use during his time, in which each prayer plume or stick signifies as many sacrifices and prayers.[3] The Indian idea of prayer consisted in the imitation of the thing prayed for; for this reason his sacred dances, of which there were many, such as the sun, corn, and animal dances, in which the subject of the dance was mimicked in more or less strange and grotesque attitudes by the participants, were essentially prayers.[4] In certain of these ceremonial performances everyone had a part, in others only a particular society of men organised for such purpose could appear. These societies were secret and were the repositories of rules governing the proper order of certain ceremonial performances and of traditions explanatory of tribal origin, of which scant records may have existed on bark or hide, and among some of the advanced tribes they had attained to the dignity of a feared and respected priesthood.[5]

The membership of these organisations was often recruited from the "medicine-man," an individual who had passed through a severe initiation of fasting and physical endurance, and was supposed to have attained thereby certain occult powers by which he could cure sickness, usually attributed to evil beings or witchcraft;[1] prognosticate success or failure; select the propitious moment for the inception of a hunting or war expedition, or conjure an enemy less potent than himself. But the medicine-man did not necessarily belong to a constituted body; he asserted his authority by the prodigies which he performed. Cabeça de Vaca[2] has left an account of one of these conjurer's tricks curiously similar to the juggling of the Pawnee medicine-man of to-day. The medicine-man claimed to control the spirits, and enclosed in his medicine lodge he held communion with them much in the fashion of the modern medium and with the same useful results. That he had a practical knowledge of the medicinal properties of various herbs, there can be no doubt,[3] and uniting as he did with his profession of conjurer a certain empirical knowledge of anatomy he occasionally performed cures and set broken limbs;[4] but his medicine commonly consisted of noise and incantation, the shaking of dry gourd rattles filled with pebbles, and the performance of exhausting gymnastics, all of which were expected to expel from the patient the evil spirit which was the cause of the disease.

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[1] *Pawnee Hero Stories*, p. xviii.; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 153.

[2] Torture of prisoners of war, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 184.

[3] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 467; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 63.

[4] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 152; sun dance of Pawnees, "Pawnee Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. viii., p. 737; animal dance, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 149, 151; "Pawnee Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. viii., p. 736; *Pawnee Hero Stories*, p. 361; corn dance, *ibid.*, p. 361.

[5] As among the Natchez, Creeks, Pueblo Indians, and other advanced tribes.

While the medicine-man held a recognised position in society, there existed also a class of witches greatly feared by the Indian, and among the people of the Pueblos at least, looked upon as the enemies of the race and put to death wherever found;[5] so great was the terror inspired by the secret exercise of this art, that whole tribes have been decimated in the process of removing the witches, says Mr. Bandelier.[*]

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[1] "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 39.

[2] "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xxii., p. 25. The Pawnee trick is related by Mr. Grinnell in *Pawnee Hero Stories*, p. 378.

[3] Knowledge of medicinal plants: "Naufragios," *ibid.*, vol. i., cap. xvi., p. 17; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 416.

[4] Cabeça de Vaca describes some of these methods, "Naufragios," *ibid.*, cap. xv., p. 16; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 416.

[5] Witches: *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 35, 51 and note; "Linguistic Families," p. 39.

To what extent the Indian recognised the same code of morals of right and wrong as his early Spanish conqueror it is difficult to judge from records left by the conquerors themselves. But if the soul of man is God-given and still partakes, even in the remotest degree and among the lowest of mankind, of something of His nature, there must have existed among the nobler sort the same scrupulous exactitude in the observance of his native code of morals as was found among his white brethren when untainted by the thirst for gold. Vices he had, and terrible ones, but they were the outcome perhaps of the struggle for existence where food was difficult of attainment and the support of children a hard task. Cabeça de Vaca mentions the killing of female infants among the Indians of the Texas coast;[1] unnatural crimes were widely prevalent,[2] and cannibalism probably existed to a limited extent,[3] although in America it was practised mainly in the tropics[4] and was generally of a semi-religious character. Two of the early discoverers expressly state that it did not prevail in the countries through which they passed.[5] Of the sanctity of a promise once given, Castañeda[6] has preserved a most interesting account, noting how demoralised were the Indians when they found that it was not regarded with the same inviolability by the Spaniards as by themselves. The recurring instances of the devotion of native guides who voluntarily risk their lives in misleading the semi-supernatural invaders in order to deliver their people are examples of noble virtues, and the friendship with which the Indian welcomed the return of the Frenchman with his kindly native policy points to a keen sense of gratitude.

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[1] "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xviii., p. 20.

[2] "Naufragios," *Ibid.*, cap. xviii., p. 21, xxvi., p. 29; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 414.

[3] Cannibalism: *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 46; Mendoza, "Lettre à l'empereur Charles V.," *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 294. But it should not be forgotten that Queen Isabella's licence of October 30, 1503, exempted cannibals from the law forbidding the enslavement of the Indians.

[4] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 70.

[5] Cabeça de Vaca, "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xiv., p. 15, from which the absence of cannibalism may be inferred; and Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 451, 452.

[6] Castañeda, 1a pte., cap. xiii., *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 432.

Marriage[1] was a matter in which personal choice had little to do, and was primarily of legal appointment, as the young woman received her husband from some other clan, generally by the advice of the elders. Her position was most unbearable. She was traded for in marriage; she was the household slave, tilling the soil, building the houses, drawing wood and water, tanning and dressing the hides, sewing them into tent coverings, carrying the tent and tent-poles, grinding the corn, performing every servile and laborious duty, while the men hunted, or went on the war-path, or smoked in the council-house or estufa, from which she was excluded.[2]

With all this some tribes practised strict monogamy,[3] and to her fell the care and education of the child, which consisted in the early development of all his instincts of cruelty by practice in the torture of small animals, and severe physical training in order to harden both body and soul and make of him a brave warrior.[4]

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[1] "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 35.

[2] *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 184; "The Pawnees," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. iv., p. 263; Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 59; "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xviii., pp. 20, 21; Castañeda, 2a pte., cap. iv., pp. 451, 452; exclusion of women from the estufa: Castañeda, p. 452; from the council-house, *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 183.

[3] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 451; "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xiv., p. 16; *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 45; Carta de Juan Rogel, *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xiii., p. 203.

[4] Education of Indian youth: *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 184; "The Pawnee Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. iv., p. 264.

The rewards of a future life were for the brave warrior and the successful hunter. The death of a chief was attended in some instances by the sacrifice of human life,[1] and his treasures were very generally buried with him that they might accompany and serve him in the spirit land. The burial customs differed widely;[2] cremation was observed in some localities and the practice of burning the dwelling over the dead is also indicated. Among the southern tribes east of the Mississippi the bones of the corpse were cleaned and reinterred after a certain lapse of time; among certain coast tribes were dead-houses in which the bodies were preserved possibly prior to final burial.[3]

Of domesticated animals, the Indian had only the turkey[4] found tame among the Pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico, and the dog, used as an article of food among the eastern and probably among all the natives, and as a pack animal by the roving tribes.[5] An account exists of tame milch deer in use among certain tribes where the Spaniard penetrated at an early period,[6] but the story is discredited on excellent authority;[1] Don Antonio de Mendoza, Viceroy of Mexico, in his letter to the Emperor Charles V., states that the Pueblo Indians domesticated and sheared a woolly beast the size of a dog.[2]

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[1] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 24.

[2] On burial customs consult Dr. C. H. Yarrow, "A Further Contribution to the Study of the Mortuary Customs of the North American Indians," *First Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 87.

[3] Burial customs, Castañeda, 2a pte., cap. iii., *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 451; "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xiv., p. 16; *The Delight Makers*, p. 347, note 1; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 415; *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 51; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 559.

[4] Mendoza, "Lettre à Charles V.," in *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 294; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 159. Mr. Henshaw (in Wheeler's *U. S. Geo. Surv.*, vol. vii., p. 307, note) thinks that the cows or Cae of Cabrillo (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 181) are bison. The "little dogs" which formed so important an article of diet for De Soto's men, Mr. Buckingham Smith surmises to be opossums.

[5] The dog as beast of burden: Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 456; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 179, note 2; *Pawnee Hero Stories*, p. 265; M. Le Page Du Pratz, *The History of Louisiana*, vol. i., p. 109, London, 1763; dogs among the Muskhogee: *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 58.

[6] Gomara, *Hist. de las Indias*, cap. xliii.

Their arts were few and elementary. The most mysterious of them all, the kindling of fire, was generally practised with the primitive and universal fire drill, a slow and tedious process requiring sometimes the efforts of more than one assistant.[3] All of the tribes made pottery of more or less artistic form,[4] the Pueblo Indians manufacturing glazed and decorated jars[5] having a lustre the art of producing which is now lost,[6] which commanded the admiration of the Spaniard, familiar as he was with the beauty of Moorish potteries. Among the less advanced tribes the pottery still bore the marks of the primitive wicker or basket moulds, or was shaped in the hollowed-out trunk of a tree.[7] In the weaving of baskets some of the tribes attained remarkable proficiency, as among certain of the California coast tribes, where the rush was worked into vessels so tightly woven as to serve for carrying water.[8]

Another art widely practised and in which the Indian attained remarkable proficiency was the tanning and dressing[1] of hides, a labour at which the women were principally employed, although Cabeça de Vaca, when held as a slave among the Indians of Texas, was set to scraping the hides to give them flexibility.[2] Not only were the hides cured while retaining the fur in beautiful condition,[3] but leather was produced of exceeding suppleness and whiteness and the art of dyeing it appears also to have been successfully attained.[4] Mantles were made of coloured feathers[5] and among the village Indians of New Mexico the art of weaving cotton had been reached[6] and woollen cloth was manufactured from twisted strips of rabbit-skin with the fur on the exterior.[7] In the east a yarn was made from the bark of trees from which mantles were also woven. Two of De Soto's chroniclers record the finding of an oil obtained from walnuts.[8] At the salt springs of Louisiana and about the Red River basin the natives manufactured salt by evaporation, which they afterwards traded for skins and mantles.[9]

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[1] Dr. D. G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, 2d edition, p. 21, New York, 1876.

[2] *Voyage de Cibola*, Appendix III., p. 294.

[3] Fire drill: Hawkins, "Narrative," *Hak.*, vol. iv., p. 240; *The Delight Makers*, p. 245; Du Pratz, *Hist. La.*, vol. ii., p. 222. Grinnell, in *Pawnee Hero Stories*, p. 257, relates that in making fire with the fire stick, the process was so slow that it required four men.

[4] A. F. Bandelier, Reports, *Fifth Ann. Rept. Arch. Inst. of Am.*, Appendix II., p. 55, Cambridge, 1884; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 35; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 449.

[5] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 445, 452.

[6] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 162.

[7] *Pawnee Hero Stories*, p. 255.

[8] Vizcaino in Venegas, vol. ii., p. 276; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 418, 422; "The Pawnee Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. iv., p. 279.

They were also apt at the manufacture of the implements of the chase and of war, pointing the arrows with heads of stone or bone, sometimes obtaining the wood for the shafts and bows by trade, or shaping the latter of bone bound with thongs in the absence of wood, and making the cords of deer sinew.[1] The thick and tough hides of the old bison were fashioned into targets, shields, and casques,[2] and along the rivers and bays fish nets[3] were woven from pliant threads obtained, perhaps, from the interior bark of a tree, or from some fibrous plant, and canoes were constructed for fishing and transportation, some of very large size.[4] It is to be remembered that metal was unknown to the Indian,[5] for, says Bandelier,[6] aboriginal mining is a myth. His only implements were stone knives made of hard rock, flint, and obsidian, minerals used also for his arrow- and spear-heads, and found strictly localised; such knives are described by Cabeça de Vaca and Castañeda.[7] He used shells with cutting edges[8] and a variety of other instruments of stone and bone for scraping and dressing leather, for grinding corn and for his very superficial cultivation of the soil.

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[1] Tanning: *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 158; dressing hides: "Relation du Frère Marcos de Niza," in *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 265.

[2] "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xxii., p. 26.

[3] "Naufragios," *Ibid.*, cap. x., p. 11, and the constant mention of well-preserved furs in all the early writers.

[4] Coloured leather: Mendoza, "Lettre à Charles V.," *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 294; "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. iv., p. 4, cap. v., p. 6; Fontanedo, *Recueil de Pièces*, p. 24; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 573, 593, vol. iii., p. 8; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 413, which refers to the use of vegetable dyes, and p. 418.

[5] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 580; Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 450; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., 435.

[6] Mendoza, "Lettre à Charles V.," *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 295.

[7] *Contributions*, p. 141.

[8] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 52; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 585; Bartram, p. 38, describes its manufacture in his time.

[9] Biedma, *ibid.*, p. 62; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., pp. 9, 27.

The Indian of the Gulf coast gathered the sea-shells, grinding them down into ornamental beads and spines,[1] which he bartered in the interior for skins, arrow-heads, and shafts, and the mineral paints,[2] with which almost universally the men and at times the women adorned themselves,[3] applying them with most careful elaboration and with colour generally symbolical of war or peace, or of the particular mission or ceremony on which the paint was worn. The Georgia Indians in the vicinity of Port Royal were said to be particularly apt in this kind of commerce, which they carried on with those of the interior.[4] Beyond the Mississippi, De Soto came across "turkey stones and mantles of cotton which, the Indians signified by signs, they had from the west,"[5] but whether by trade or pillage he does not state. The village Indian of the west traded his turquoise and cotton garments with the southern and south-western tribes in exchange for the green plumage of the parrot, which figured in his religious ceremonials; with the vagrant tribes to the east in exchange for the tanned hides of the bison and with his own people for ornaments.[6] Along the Pacific coast the islanders bartered their fishbone, beads, and roots with the inhabitants on the mainland.[7] But it should not be inferred that there was anything approaching a general trade among the tribes, or even a long-continued or recognised trade between those in the same neighbourhood. "It may be said that no two tribes were ever so hostile as never to trade, or so intimately connected as never to fight," says Mr. Bandelier,[1] and barter must have been conducted with bended bow and arrow the greater part of the time.

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[1] Arrow-heads: Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 557. vol. iii., p. 46; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 413; trade for arrow shafts and bows: "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xvi., p. 17; cap. xx., p. 23; "Pawnee Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. iv., p. 252; ancient Pawnee bows: *ibid.*, *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. iv., p. 277; bowstring: "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xxv., p. 28; Dauila Padilla, lib. i., cap. lxiv., p. 253; "Pawnee Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. v., p. 322.

[2] Mendoza, "Lettre à Charles V.," *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 294; "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xviii., p. 22; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 153.

[3] Fish nets: "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xviii., p. 20; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 613.

[4] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 63; Bazares, *Recueil de Pièces*, pp. 147, 148; Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 179, 181; Vizcaino in Venegas, vol. ii., pp. 271 *et seq.*

[5] Fontanedo, *Recueil de Pièces*, p. 14. For metals known to the Indians, see Appendix A.

[6] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 13, and see *ibid.*, Pt. II., p. 93, for the Indian method of mining turquoise in New Mexico.

[7] "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xxii., p. 25; Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 450.

[8] "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xvi., p 17; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 433.

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[1] Wm. H. Holmes, "Art in Shells of the Ancient Americans," *Second Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 194, 208, 210, 216.

[2] "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xvi., p. 121.

[3] Painted Indians: "Naufragios," *Ibid.*, cap. xxix., p. 32; Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 430; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 604, 607; Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 47; "Coppie d'une Lettre" in *Recueil de Pièces*, p. 240; Mendoza, "Mémoire," *ibid.*, p. 215; "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 413; Vizcaino, in Venegas, vol. ii., pp. 271, 272; Drake, *Hak.*, vol. iv., p. 43; Cabrillo, *Herrera*, vol. iii., dec. 7, lib. v., cap. iii. p. 89.

[4] Carta de Juan Rogel, *Doc. Inedit.*, xiii., p. 303.

[5] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 32.

[6] Pueblo Indian trade: "Naufragios," cap. xxxi., p. 35; "Relation du Frère Marcos de Niza," *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 264; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 101, 106, 163; Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 456; on Indian trade among themselves, see C. Rau, "Ancient Aboriginal Trade," *Smithsonian Rept.*, 1872.

[7] Cabrillo, *Herrera*, vol. iii., dec. vii., lib. v., cap. iii., p. 89.

The nearest approach to the fine arts is found in the religious pictographs still in use among the Zuñi of to-day in the interior ceremonial decoration of their estufas[2] and in the decorations of pottery and leather both by painting and embroidery. Mention is frequently made of flute-playing Indians both in the region of the Gulf States and among the Pueblo Indians;[3] indeed Castañeda[4] mentions the singing of the women grinding corn to the accompaniment of a man playing upon the fife, but it must have been a crude melody, if such it may be called, for the Indian musical instruments usually consisted of noise-making devices, such as drums and rattles.

What with trade carried on by wandering pedlers, such as Cabeça de Vaca has described himself to have been, and by roving tribes, such as the Apaches and other prairie Indians, returning frequently to the same pueblos, and the trade between the Pueblos themselves; what with the annual hunting expeditions of the semi-sedentary tribes of the east prolonged sometimes for weeks and even months, their extended war expeditions and the necessary and unavoidable intercourse with neighbouring settlements, there must have existed highways of some description as a means of intercommunication. These were the Indian trails, leading from river to river, crossing at some well-known ford, threading the mountain passes, leading over the plain by some unfailing spring or into a protected camping-ground. These were the paths followed by Narvaez and De Vaca, by De Soto and De Luna, by Fray Marcos and Coronado, as they advanced over the country, passing in a day's journey from one village to another under the conduct of their native guides.[1] It is noticeable that these explorers frequently mention the fact that there was no road, and it may well be assumed in consequence, that after their first experiences in mountain and plain they quickly learned to distinguish the indications of an Indian trail and to take advantage of it. Two remarkable instances of the extent of these trails are furnished by the crossing of the continent from east to west, which Cabeça de Vaca achieved with the aid of his Indian guides, who unquestionably followed trails known to them, and David Ingram's no less surprising exploit in making his way with his two companions from the Gulf of Mexico to Maine.[2] From what has preceded it is apparent that the native

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[1] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 36.

[2] Letter of Coronado, *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 131.

[3] Flute-playing Indians, Gulf States: Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 566, 595; "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. v., p. 6; Ensayo, Año MDLX., fol. 36; Pueblo Indians: Mendoza, "Lettre à Charles V.," *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 295; Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 252.

[4] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 452, "y cantá a tres boçes," literally, "sing in three voices."

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[1] The importance, to the understanding of the routes of these explorers, of a knowledge of the early Indian trails has been pointed out by Mr. Gatschet in his *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 151. The following are early references to such trails: Dauila Padilla, lib. i., cap. lxii., p. 245, mentions "caminillos pequeños" through lower Alabama; Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 60, "como si por camino real nos llebaran, viendo que en todo la vida por alli abia pasado hombre"; "Relacion de lo que Hernando de Alvarado," etc., *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 65, "aqui se apartan dos caminos," etc.; *La Florida del Inca*, lib. iii., cap. xvii., p. 135, "el qual iria por el Camino Real á la Provincia de Chalaque"; Michler's Report in "Recon. in New Mexico," etc., Thirty-first Cong., *Ex. Doc. No. 64*, p. 33, says good fords are found in Texas by following the Indian trails.

[2] *Discovery of America*, vol. i., p. 250; *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. iii., p. 170; *The Land Travels of David Ingram and others in the Year 1568–69*, edited from the original MS. (Sloane MSS., Mus. Brit., No. 1447, ff. 1–18) by P. C. J. Weston, in Doc. connected with the Hist. of S. Carolina, London, 1856.

American of the sixteenth century was a barbarian, still in the neolithic age, his social organisation that of a socialistic communism, his religion a compound of animism and fetishism, in which the latter was dominant.

At the date of the Spanish discovery, were the tribes that were met with the original inhabitants of the soil? If not, from whence did they come? The answer to these questions can be conjectural only, still there is some foundation for a belief that the great central group of the south-eastern Indians came from the south-west; evidence tending to this conclusion is furnished both by their migration legends and the distribution of the linguistic groups. Evidence of a similar nature, coupled with actual observation within historic times, appears to indicate a like origin for the more easterly of the wandering tribes; while for the western village Indians, legend and linguistic affiliation point to the north or north-west. In like manner the wandering tribes on the western edge of the prairie have followed the buffalo travelling slowly southward, as has been observed with some of their tribes within historic times, sending occasional segmentations to the east along the courses of the great rivers flowing into the Mississippi.[1] Thus is developed what may be called a great whirl, starting from the north or north-west of the continent, moving slowly southward, deflected across Mexico and Texas and then returning north along the Mississippi or flowing over into the well-watered region of the Gulf States. Not that it is intended to imply a common origin for Creek and Zuñi, but that the advance of one may have pushed forward the other, and thus occasioned a movement all along the line. If such be really the case, then here and there along the Gulf coast, or in the fastnesses of the Rockies, may have remained aboriginal tribes, some whose destiny it was to escape or survive the invasion of their advancing brothers, and to retain in their seclusion many of their individual customs; while other tribes may have been finally absorbed by wholesale adoption into the decimated ranks of their conquerors, contributing to the modification of both language and type.

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[1] Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 12, says: "There are said to be traces of the existence of a succession of ruins (pueblos) along the Canadian River, far across the great plains."

Who the Indians were is a question which must still be left unsolved. A favourite Spanish theory was to look upon them as descendants of the lost ten tribes of Israel, and human ingenuity has exhausted itself in guessing at a probable origin, but as yet to no really practical end. The guess may be hazarded that at the date of the Spanish discovery the population of the territory under review did not exceed two hundred thousand, and did not fall below one hundred thousand. These numbers cannot rise to the dignity of an estimate, for there are no sufficient contemporaneous data on which to base it, only the exceedingly vague approximations of a much later date.[1] It is probable that this population was about evenly divided between the east and west of the Mississippi River and Arizona and New Mexico; but in the latter, much more strictly confined to the river courses than in the east. Practically the bulk of the population was with two exceptions distributed along the Rio Grande, while it appears to have been very broadly scattered over the fertile region of the Gulf States. Cabrillo's relation shows that there was also quite a dense Indian settlement along the California shore.

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[1] See Appendix B,—population.

CHAPTER III

THE NATIVES AND THEIR CUSTOMS—*continued*

WHERE the site of the village was changed at the beck of a superstitious whim, travelling at intervals up or down the bank of the river, or alternating between valley and mountain-top with recurring season of peace or war; where the entire " nation " moved slowly south, east, or north, following the mysterious dictation of its tribal fetish, territorial limitations and boundaries were defined not by compass and surveyor's chain, but, perhaps, by a mountain range, a great river, or by extensive strips of unoccupied forest or prairie. Over this in times of peace tribes of the neighbouring settled regions ranged throughout the hunting season, or met in deadly strife in times of war, when chance or design brought them together. How indefinite these territorial boundaries were may be gathered from the histories of the cessions of its domains made at different periods by the Cherokee nation to the United States. The necessities of a comparatively dense population, such as that about the French settlement of La Caroline, undoubtedly called for more precise confines between the landed possessions of the neighbouring villages, each ruled by its petty chief, and Laudonnière relates how one of these pointed out to him the limit of his domain. But the landmarks separating the great families, and even their tribal subdivisions, must have been of the vaguest nature.

Nevertheless the principal linguistic families and to some extent the tribes of most importance have been located on the map with some precision, and for the period under consideration their distribution was substantially this: Throughout the territory extending from the Savannah River and the Atlantic coast west to the Mississippi, and from the Gulf of Mexico north to the Tennessee River, dwelt the tribes speaking the affiliated dialects of the great Muskhogean family.[1] Of these, the Creeks or Muskhogees proper, who have given their name both to the linguistic family and to the famous confederacy, were settled on the Coosa, the Tallapoosa, and the upper and middle Chattahoochee Rivers, in what is now the States of Georgia and Alabama, a country abounding in creek bottoms overflowed in the rainy season,[2] and from whence they derive their name. The location was both central and commanding, while around them to the east, south, and west were grouped their kindred tribes.

The gentleman of Elvas,[3] who accompanied De Soto, has left an account of the Creek villages in Georgia among which the expedition passed. He says:

> "In all the cold countrie the Indians haue euery one a house for the winter daubed with clay within and without, and the doore is very little: they shut it by night, and make fire within; so that they are in it as warme as in a stoue: and so it continueth all night that they need not clothes: and besides these, they haue others for summer; and their kitchens neere them, where they make fire and bake their bread: and they haue barbacoas wherein they keepe their Maiz; which is an house set vp in the aire vpon foure stakes, boorded about like a chamber, and the floore of it is of cane hurdles. The difference which Lords or principall mens houses haue from the rest, besides they be greater, is, that they haue great galleries

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[1] "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 94.

[2] *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 52.

[3] *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 573.

in their fronts, and vnder them seats made of canes in manner of benches: and round about them they haue many lofts wherein they lay vp that which the Indians doe giue them for tribute, which is Maiz, Deeres skins, and mantles of the Countrie, which are like blankets: they make them of the inner rinde of the barke of trees, and some of a kind of grasse like vnto nettles, which being beaten, is like vnto flaxe. The women couer themseluels with these mantles; they put one about them from the wast downeward; and another ouer their shoulder, with their right arm out, like vnto the Egyptians. The men weare but one mantle vpon their shoulders after the same manner: and haue . . . a Deeres skin, made like a linen breech, which was wont to be vsed in Spain."

What the gentleman of Elvas has called the house of a lord or principal corresponds closely to one of the public buildings of the Creeks at a later period, the "great house" formed by four one-story buildings of equal size generally facing the points of the compass. "The great galleries in their fronts" were due to their open shed-like appearance fronting on the square. It was divided into cabins corresponding in number to the various orders of social distinction existing in the tribal organisation, to each of which a cabin was assigned. Each cabin contained two or three sleeping platforms, over which were spread coverings of cane mats,[1] doubtless the cane seats of the narrative. These Creek towns, with their assemblages of clay-bedaubed huts and cabins, resembling at a distance clusters of newly burnt brick-kilns,[2] were governed by the warriors or by civil officers, according to their classification into *red* or war towns, where the colour was significant of the wrath of the warrior out on the war-path, and *white* or peace towns, that were places of refuge.[3]

Along the Atlantic coast were the Yamassi[4] and below them was the Hitchiti connection or south-easten division,[1] the former settled east of the Creeks about the mouth of the Savannah River and extending for some distance into the interior; the latter established to the south and east, including within its western limits the "Province of Apalachi," which probably occupied the upper or the whole of the Chattahoochee basin, where lived the now extinct "Apalachi."[2] It is not improbable that some of these early Creeks had penetrated into the lower extremity of the Floridian Peninsula.[3] The Appalachians, Fontanedo relates,[4] went naked, clothed only in aprons fashioned by the men out of prepared skins of deer, and by the women out of moss,—the long grey moss hanging from the cypress. They lived in great communal houses, some of them capable of accommodating five hundred persons;[5] in little low-built straw huts thatched with the same material or with the leaves of the palm-tree and erected in some nook sheltered from the storm,[6] and in cave-like dwellings having heavy mud walls,[7] the latter in fact being also found to the north and east. Their chief food was fish, while the pearls gathered at the river's mouth were carried from there through all the "provinces" and villages of Florida.[8]

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[1] *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 171.

[2] Among the Lower Creeks, *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 121.

[3] Red and white towns, *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 121.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 62.

Of the Alibamu branch settled on the river of the same name to the west of the "Apalachi" and south of the Creeks, no early records have remained.[9] The Choctaws, of whose numbers were the Tuscaloosa and Mauvila tribes which so bravely resisted De Soto,[1] occupied the middle and southern portion of the present State of Mississippi down to the Gulf of Mexico. Lastly, about the headwaters of the Yazoo and the Tombigbee, in the upper part of the same State, lived the Chickasaws,[2] and here also was the "Chicaça Province" of De Soto's chroniclers,[3] and the tribe of the Alibamo referred to by them. These principal divisions of the Muskhogean family occupied practically all the territory now included in the States of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and part of Florida, the several tribes holding all of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico from the mouth of the Mississippi River east to the St. Mary's River in north Florida,[4] and the Atlantic coast from above the mouth of the Savannah River south, perhaps, to that of the St. Mary's River.

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[1] *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 52.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 67, 68.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 74.

[4] "Mémoire," *Recueil de Pièces*, pp. 21, 40.

[5] "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. iii., p. 3.

[6] "Naufragios," *Ibid.*, cap. vi., p. 7; Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 50; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 573.

[7] Biedma, *ibid.*, p. 50; Elvas, *ibid.*, p. 573.

[8] Fontanedo, *Recueil de Pièces*, p. 19.

[9] *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 89. They were not the Alibamo of Biedma and of Garcilaso, which appear to have been in north-western Mississippi, *ibid.*, p. 87.

Around the Muskhogee were gathered several interesting groups. To the north, on the headwaters of the Georgia rivers in the northern part of Alabama, among the mountains, dwelt the principal southern tribe of the famous Iroquoian stock, the Cherokees, war-like and polygamous, living in great communal houses and at that time still a race of mound-builders,[5] the "Chalaques" and "Achalaques" of De Soto.[6] The territory of the Yuchees,[7] a tribe forming a linguistic stock apart named after it, extended above the Yamassi, along the upper course of the Savannah River up to the Cherokee Mountains.[1] De Soto, who penetrated to their chief town, Cufitatchiqui at Silver Bluff on the Savannah River, found them governed by a queen,[2] rich with treasures of pearls and mantles of a yarn made of the bark of trees and of coloured feathers, the natives clothed and shod.[3]

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[1] *Migration Legend*, vol. i., pp. 100, 101.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 90.

[3] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 600.

[4] *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 74; "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 79.

[5] *Migration Legend*, vol. i., pp. 24, 26, 134, 136, 146; Cyrus Thomas, "Burial Mounds of the Northern Sections of the United States," *Fifth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 92.

[6] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 583; Garcilaso, lib. iii., cap. xvii., p. 135.

[7] "Linguistic Families," p. 126.

Tribes of the Timuquanan stock occupied the northern and middle portion of the Floridian Peninsula, extending from Amelia Island, then called Guale, on the Atlantic coast to the vicinity of Lake Okeechobee, the Mayaimi of Fontanedo, where was their southern boundary[4] both on the eastern and western coasts. Their most populous settlements were on the St. John's and its tributaries and along the east coast of the peninsula, and there is some reason to suppose the existence among them of a Carib admixture.[5] Like their neighbours, the Appalachians, they went naked and lived in cabins thatched with palm branches.[6] Réné de Laudonnière, who commanded the disastrous French settlements on the Atlantic coast sent out by Admiral Coligny, has left an account of the Floridian Indians, which probably applies in great part to the Timuquanan in the neighbourhood of La Caroline,[7] the present St. Augustine, on the St. John's, where much of his time was passed. He extols their great skill in the use of colours which they obtained as vegetable dyes.

"The most part of them haue their bodies, arms, and

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[1] *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 19.

[2] The widow of a chief, *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 19. Laudonnière mentions a similar instance of a woman chieftain in *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 497, as does Cabrillo in his relation, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 183.

[3] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 580.

[4] "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 123.

[5] *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 67; "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 123; Daniel G. Brinton, *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula*, pp. 103, 137.

[6] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 50.

[7] Hawkins, "Narrative," *Hak.*, vol. iv., p. 240, describes their communal houses and manner of making fire.

> thighes painted with faire deuises: the painting whereof can neuer be taken away, because the same is pricked into their flesh. . . . They exercise their yong men to runne well, and they make a game among themselues, which he winneth that has the longest breath. . . . They play at ball in this maner: they set vp a tree in the middest of a place which is eight or nine fathome high, in the top whereof there is set a square mat made of reedes or Bulrushes, which whosoeuer hitteth in playing therat, winneth the game.[1] . . . The Kings of the Countrey make great warre one against the other, which is not executed but by surprise, and they kill all the men they can take: afterward they cut off their heads to haue their haire, which returning home they carry away, to make thereof their triumph when they come to their houses. . . . They haue their priests to whom they giue great credit, because they are great magicians, great sooth-sayers, and callers vpon diuels. These Priests serue them in stead of Physitions and Chirurgions. They carrey alwayes about them a bag full of herbes and drugs to cure the sicke diseased. . . . They eate all their meate broyled on the coales, and dressed in the smoake, which in the language they call Boucaned. . . . The agilitie of their women is so great, that they can swimme ouer the great Riuers bearing their children vpon one of their armes."[2]

On the south-western extremity of the peninsula, below Tampa Bay, about the Caloosahatchee River, which still recalls the name, was the "Province of Calusa" of the Carlos Indians.[3] It was a populous and powerful nation, rich in pearls, celebrating an annual harvest festival attended with human sacrifice,[4] and having many little villages about Lake Okeechobee, in part inhabited by descendants of Cuban Indians who had come thither in search of the rejuvenating waters of the river Jordan,[5] that *ignis fatuus* of the first explorers of Florida. On the south-eastern shore was the province of Tequesta,[1] where the sun was worshipped under the semblance of a stuffed deer, and about Cape Canaveral, at the upper end of the province, was that of Ais.[2] Tradition relates that the natives were the same people who held the Bahama or Lucayan Islands.[3]

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[1] De Bry, tab. xxxvi., "Juventutis exercitia."

[2] "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 413, 416.

[3] *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 114.

[4] "A notable historie," *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 483.

[5] Fontanedo, *Recueil de Pièces*, pp. 18, 21, 23.

West of the Mississippi River, in Louisiana and the eastern part of Texas extending down to the coast, was the home of the Caddos, the Wichitas, the Huacos, and other roving tribes, including perhaps at this period the Pawnees who constituted the southern group of the Pawnee or Caddoan family[4] believed by some authorities to have migrated originally from Old Mexico.[5] On the Gulf coast, between the Mississippi and the Sabine, have been located the Chitimacha, who flattened the heads of their children,[6] west of them the Attacapa,[7] reputed to be man-eaters[8] and possibly affiliated to the giant Karankawas[9] about Matagorda Bay, each of the three tribes having given its name to a distinct linguistic family. Tribes of the Coahuiltecan group[10] occupied south-western Texas around the mouth of the Rio Grande, and the Adaizan family[11] represented by the solitary band of the Adai, the Atayos of Cabeça de Vaca,[12] were probably even then settled in the north-western corner of Louisiana between the Sabine and Red Rivers.

Cabeça de Vaca, who was cast ashore on an island along the Texas coast and remained for several years in slavery among the natives, has left an account of the tribes on the coast and in the interior of Texas with which he came in contact. The men of the island where he was wrecked

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[1] *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 14. Fontanedo, *Recueil de Pièces*, p. 16.

[2] Fontanedo, *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[3] *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 15.

[4] "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 59; "Pawnee Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. iv., p. 241; *Pawnee Hero Stories*, pp. 20 *et seq.*

[5] *Pawnee Hero Stories*, p. 227.

[6] "Linguistic Families," p. 66.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

[8] *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 46.

[9] "Linguistic Families," p. 82.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 46.

[12] "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xxii., p. 24.

"pierce one breast, there are some that have both pierced, and introduce into the opening which they make, a reed two and a half palms in length and two fingers in width. They also pierce the lower lip and insert a piece of reed half a finger in diameter. . . . They are in the habit of burying the dead, except the medicine men whom they burn. While the pyre is burning they all dance and rejoice; then they reduce the bones to powder. A year later, when they give them funeral honours, all take part in them and the parents distribute these powders, which the natives drink in water." [1]

The women were hard-worked, and the winter food consisted of fish and roots, the islanders migrating to another country when these were no longer fit to eat. They lived in wattled huts built upon heaps of the shells of the oyster, upon which they subsisted. Elsewhere on the coast the killing of female infants was practised by throwing them to the dogs to be devoured and parents sacrificed their children under the influence of a dream. Such was the scarcity of food that the mothers nursed their children until they reached the age of twelve years. The condition of the interior tribes was not a whit better; the same scarcity of food appears to have prevailed wherever he went, except after a successful hunt of the bison which came down to the coast.[2] Some of them lived in portable tents of mats fastened to four bended rods, all of which they carried about on their backs, changing their camping-ground every two or three days in search of food.[3] On the whole it is a pitiful picture of destitution and starvation relieved only by one innocent enjoyment not unknown to our own day; for "in all that country they intoxicate themselves with a smoke which they buy at the price of all their riches."[1]

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[1] "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xiv., p. 15.

[2] Coast tribes: *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16; cap. xviii., pp. 20, 22; cap. xxiv., p. 27. For the interior tribes compare *Pawnee Hero Stories*, pp. 246, 250; "Pawnee Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. v., p. 239.

[3] "Naufragios," cap. xviii., p. 21.

Above the Caddoan family, along the Arkansas and its tributaries to the Mississippi, extended the southern limits of the great Siouan group.[2] With one of the southernmost of its tribes, the Quapaw or Arkansas, De Soto came in contact on the western side of the Mississippi River in the province of Pacaha.[3] Farther north he met with the roving tribes who informed him that there were many like bands of nomads in the interior, but that the country to the north was scarcely inhabited on account of the cold.[4] Of these were the "Quivira," whom Coronado encountered in central Kansas, nomads living in mere huts of branches covered with reeds, shifting with the bison as they slowly pushed their way southward.[5] On the lower Mississippi were probably located the Natchez, first known to us two centuries later when they became famous in the French annals.[6] The southern group of the Athapascan family[7] extended from central Texas in the vicinity of the Rio Pecos northward to the Colorado River and westward through the eastern part of Arizona. Here wandered the Apaches, subsisting on the chase, murder, and rapine, and gathering at certain seasons about the Pueblo villages on the Rio Grande and its neighbourhood to trade their bison hides for the cotton garments and turquoise ornaments of the villagers.[1]

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[1] "Naufragios," *Historiadores*, vol. i., cap. xxvi., p. 28: "En toda la tierra se emborrachan con un humo, y dán quanto tienen por él." This is what I believe to be the first mention of smoking tobacco within our country.

[2] "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 111.

[3] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 58.

[4] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 616; Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 59.

[5] Castañeda, 2a pte., cap. viii., *Fourteenth Ann. Rep. Bur. Eth.*, p. 453; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 169 and note; *Contributions*, p. 185.

[6] "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 95.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

Typical of all these roaming tribes were the Querechos and the Teyas, whom Castañeda describes as the army passed among them on the way to "Quivira."

> "They travel like the Arabs, with their tents and troops of dogs loaded with poles and having Moorish pack saddles with girths. When the load gets disarranged, the dogs howl, calling some one to fix them right. These people eat raw flesh and drink blood. They do not eat human flesh. They are a kind people and not cruel. They are faithful friends. They are able to make themselves very well understood by means of signs. They dry the flesh in the sun, cutting it thin like a leaf, and when dry they grind it like meal to keep it and make a sort of sea soup of it to eat. A handful thrown into a pot swells up so as to increase very much. They season it with fat, which they always try to secure when they kill a cow. They empty a large gut and fill it with blood, and carry this around the neck to drink when they are thirsty. When they open the belly of a cow, they squeeze out the chewed grass and drink the juice that remains behind, because they say that this contains the essence of the stomach. They cut the hide open at the back and pull it off at the joints, using a flint as large as a finger, tied in a little stick, with as much ease as if working with a good iron tool. They give it an edge with their own teeth."[2]

Their tents were of tanned bison hides, their women well treated and entirely clothed in leather skirts, with shoes and leggins, and the men could pierce a bison through and through with their arrows.[3] The Querechos were the Apaches of the plains.[4] Of the same linguistic family were the Navajos, who occupied the country on the south of the San Juan River in northern New Mexico,[1] where they lived in log cabins and practised irrigation in the cultivation of their fields, and, perhaps, the little known tribe of the Jumanos,[2] visited by Espejo, who ranged the south-eastern part of the same State.

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[1] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 31. But see F. W. Hodge, "The Early Navajo and Apache," *Am. Anthropologist*, vol. viii., July, 1895.

[2] Castañeda, 2a pte., cap. vii., *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 456. Winship's translation, p. 527.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1a pte., cap. xix., p. 440; cap. xx., p. 442.

[4] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 179. Mr. Hodge, in "Navajo and Apache," *Am. Anthrop.*, vol. viii., p. 235, says: "Mr. James Mooney . . . has

It is purely a matter of speculation how far south members of the Shoshonean group had penetrated at this period into the territory between the two last named families, where they have subsequently been found.[3] The cluster of villages in northern Arizona, the Moqui of to-day, called the province of "Tusayan" by Castañeda,[4] "Totonteac,"[5] and "Mohoce"[6] by Fray Marcos and Espejo respectively, belonged to them. It consisted of communal, many storied houses similar to those of the other Pueblo Indians.

The remaining Pueblo Indians formed three linguistic groups, the Zuñian, the Kèresan, and the Tañoan, which, with the Moquis, in the first half of the sixteenth century until the uprising against the Spaniards in 1680, were irregularly dispersed in villages at intervals of from twenty to seventy miles apart over a territory extending from Taos in northern New Mexico as far south along the Rio Grande as the present location of San Marcial, a length of nearly two hundred and thirty miles, and from east to west from about longitude 105° 30′ to nearly 110° 30′.[7] In the open desert between the villages roamed the Apache. The northern cluster of the Tañoan occupied a series of villages along the Rio Grande and its

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discovered that Querecho is an old Comanche name of the Tonkawa, who ranged the buffalo plains of western Texas and eastern New Mexico."

[1] "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 55.

[2] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 167.

[3] "Linguistic Families," p. 108.

[4] 1a pte., cap. xi., *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 428; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 115.

[5] "Relation de Frère Marcos de Niza," in *Voyage de Cibola*, Appendix II., pp. 267, 269. [6] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 116. [7] *Ibid.*, Pt. I., p. 119.

tributaries.[1] The northernmost of these was Taos, the Braba of Castañeda[2] and south-west of it was the Pueblo of Picures; both settlements spoke the Tigua idiom and were situated east of the Rio Grande in side valleys whose watercourses are tributaries of that stream. Below them, along the river itself, were the villages of the northern Tehuas, which included the province of Yunque-yunque of Castañeda[3] and below them came the villages of the southern group of Tehuas, the Tanos. The Jemez constituted the most westerly group of the Tañoan; they inhabited a number of pueblos[4] along the upper course of the river of the same name and the mesas about its head waters, lying nearly thirty miles west of the Rio Grande and south-east of the present site of Santa Fé. Forty miles east of the river was the pueblo of the Pecos, the A-cuique of Castañeda.[5]

The most easterly villages of the Keresan or Queres family were scattered on the banks of the Rio Grande parallel with the Tanos, and along the lower course of the Jemez,[6] below the tribe of the same name. To them belonged the rocky fastness of Acoma which so impressed the early explorers, scaled only by steps cut in the side of its precipitous cliff, and where the inhabitants gathered the rain in tanks. It was the most westerly of their villages.[7] Around the Salines and in the most fertile part of the valley of the Rio Grande below the Queres, were the southern Tiguas, the "Tiguex" of Castañeda.[1] Seventy miles west of Acoma, clustered around the base of a mesa, now called Thunder Mountain, were the celebrated "seven cities of Cibola," or Zuñi,[2] who represented the linguistic family of the same name. Castañeda has enumerated seventy-one villages inhabited at the time of the conquest with a population ranging from two hundred souls in the smaller towns to eight hundred or one thousand in the largest;[3] and Oñate,[4] who was in the same region at the close of the century, increased the number to one hundred.

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[1] "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 121. For the location of the villages along the Rio Grande, see *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 123-127. Bandelier makes two linguistic groups of Powell's Tañoan: *i. e.* (1) Taos, including the northern and southern Tehuas; (2) the Jemez, including the Pecos.

[2] 1a pte., cap. xxii., *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 445; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 123 and note, 139.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 123 and note.

[4] Probably ten in number.

[5] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 125-127.

[6] "Linguistic Families," p. 83; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 125, 126.

[7] Castañeda, 1a pte., cap. xii., p. 430; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 132.

While these are all the town Indians of whom contemporary records remain, it is improbable that they were the only ones. North of the Zuñi, in the valley of the Rio Chaco, a tributary of the San Juan, is a group of ruined pueblos, supposed by some authorities to have been inhabited at the date of the Spanish invasion. Ruins of the same architectural type have been found elsewhere, and perhaps the curious cliff dwellings ranged on the mountain shelf and nestled in the caves under its brow may have given shelter even then to a struggling humanity and served not only as a refuge in time of war, but as a home in time of peace. That some of these cave dwellings have been used as tombs and for certain ceremonial observances has been shown by Mr. Cushing, but this does not exclude the possibility of their having once served as human habitations, even at this late date. A special interest is attached to these Pueblo Indians, who had attained the highest civilisation of any of the natives inhabiting the territory of the United States. And it is a noticeable fact that the highest development in the New World culminated on the great chain of the Rocky Mountains in the northern half of the continent as well as along the mighty backbone of the Andes in its southern half.

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[1] Castañeda, 1a pte., cap. xii., *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 431; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 129 and note.

[2] *Ibid.*, 2a pte., cap. iii., p. 450; "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 138; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 132. The name of Cibola was probably a corruption of the name given by the Zuñi Indians to their tribal range (*Contributions*, p. 131).

[3] Castañeda, 2a pte., Introduction, p. 446; cap. vi., p. 454.

[4] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 136.

The dwellings of the Pueblos were everywhere substantially of the same type. Each house was a square or oblong edifice presenting to the eye the appearance of a gigantic flight of stairs, having four, five, or even seven steps,[1] each step representing a story, and the entire structure supported on three of its sides by a solid base. It was constructed of thick clay or adobe walls, the ceiling formed of beams of some enduring wood, probably the cedar, across which were laid smaller beams, the interstices filled with small rods, covered with leaves and the whole topped with a layer of clay to shed the rain from the nearly flat roof. Part of the roof of each successive story was turned into a terrace for the next, and everywhere projected the gourd-shaped chimneys of superposed earthen jars, their bottoms removed to afford an outlet for the smoke. Against the walls lay movable ladders,[2] by which the inhabitants ascended to their homes, which they reached through openings in the roofs, for there were no entrances on the ground floor. Small windows admitted the light to the clay-bedaubed apartments, which were sometimes washed with colour, and little doorways communicated with the neighbouring chambers of a family.

The houses were well distributed and very clean, with sanitary provisions carefully observed. Each had a kitchen of its own and a separate apartment containing an oven and three fixed stones in front of which the women sat to grind the corn, having first removed their shoes, gathered their hair together, carefully covered their heads, and shaken their garments. On the first stone the kernels of the grain were broken, on the second crushed, and on the third reduced wholly to powder.[1] Between the huge houses ran straight, narrow streets; for the stepped terraces usually faced the interior square of the town. The village thus presented on the outside a high, inaccessible wall, pierced with little windows, which could be used as embrasures against the attack of an enemy,[2] while from the roofs, rocks and other missiles were hurled down upon the foe.

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[1] Castañeda, 2a pte., cap. iii., *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 450; "Relation of Francis Vasquez Coronado," *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 125.

[2] *Ibid.*, Rel., *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 125.

The women cooked the food, cared for the children, and built the great communal dwellings, making big round masses of a sun-dried mixture of ashes, water, and clay, out of which the walls were constructed, while the men put up the timbers.[3] The men did the weaving, probably on frames similar to those in use at this day, or gathered in council at the estufa, whither the women brought them their food, but were forbidden to enter.[4] The estufa, of which each communal house had one, was within easy access, sometimes in an interior court, sometimes in the open square upon which the terraced roofs looked. Either round or square in shape, it was sunk deep in the earth; its roof, visible above the surface, was supported upon high columns of the pine tree with an opening at the top for an entrance and for the exit of the smoke from the fire within, upon which handfuls of thyme were thrown to keep up the heat; its floor was paved with great polished stones.[5] On its walls were depicted the lightning, the thunder bird, with outstretched wings, the various animals of the chase, the legendary beings of their mythology, all in significant and appropriate colours.[1] They practised monogamy, a young man serving the community before marriage and taking his wife at the order of the governing body of old men, on which occasion he covered the shoulders of his bride with a blanket spun and woven by himself, which constituted the simple ceremony. The young girls went nude until they married.[2] The women knotted up the hair behind the ears in the shape of a wheel much resembling the handle of a cup, and wore over their shoulders mantles tied around the neck and passed under the right arm, and long robes stretching down to the feet, which they fastened with cotton girdles,[2] occasionally studded with turquoise. Of the latter they made a variety of ornaments, earrings, and necklaces, even studding the hatchways of the house with them, though not as generally as the Spaniards were at first led to believe. Their religion and government have been sufficiently dwelt upon in the preceding chapter, but altogether they appear from the accounts of their conquerors to have been a brave, orderly people, well advanced in many of the arts of peace, and who had passed quite beyond the practice of cannibalism and the sacrifice of human victims, which cast their black shadows over the higher civilisation of their southern neighbours of Mexico.

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[1] Castañeda, 2a pte., cap. iv., *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 452.

[2] *Ibid.*, 1a pte., cap. xiv., p. 433.

[3] *Ibid.*, 2a pte., cap. iv., p. 451.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 452.

[5] The estufa: Castañeda, 1a pte., cap. xxii., p. 445; 2a pte., cap. iii., p. 450; cap. iv., p. 451.

The linguistic family of the Yuman occupied the western part of Arizona along the Great Colorado of the West, inland as far as the Tonto Basin and south along the lower Gila.[3] Oñate in 1604–05 found the country from the Moqui to beyond the Little Colorado, as far west as the vicinity of the present town of Prescott, a desert; beyond were the "Cruzados," which are probab the Yavipais.[1] Along the Great Colorado, where it issu from its cañon, were the Amacaves or Mojaves, and bel them, extending to near the mouth of the Rio Gila, t Bahacecha.[2] They, together with the tribes below the visited by Alarcon,[3] who ascended the Colorado to abo Fort Yuma, lived partly in communal houses, partly low, mud-covered huts constructed of branches.[4] Ea ward from the mouth of the Gila, along its lower cour were the Ozarrar and perhaps the Maricopas.[5] All the tribes cultivated Indian corn, gathered shells and ev coral and pearl and maintained some trade with t Zuñi.[6] Lastly, south of the Gila and occupying t especially arid part of Arizona, dwelt the tribes speaki the languages of the Piman stock. These were t Sobaypuris, who extended along the San Pedro vall north to within a short distance of the Gila; the roa ing Papap-Otam, or Pápagos, west of them; and north the Pápagos, along the Gila River between the cañon San Carlos and the Yuman, the Pimas proper or Aqui Otam dwelling in their scattered hamlets.[7]

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[1] It is probably to such wall paintings that Coronado alludes in his Relation in *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 131.

[2] Castañeda, 2a pte., cap. iii., *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 450, cap. iv., p. 452; Coronado, Rel., *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 131.

[3] "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 136; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 106.

From the date of the discovery of Alta California 1542 to the opening of the last quarter of the eightee century, but four expeditions were made along its co the last of which was in 1603. These were the voya of Cabrillo, Drake, Gali, and Vizcaino,[8] three of wh supply some meagre information concerning its inha ants during that early period.[1] The shore from San Diego as far north as Point Conception, as well as the neighbouring islands, were occupied by numerous tribes dependent largely upon fishing for their subsistence. Those of the mainland eked out the food supply with acorns and nuts, which with the fish they caught were sometimes eaten raw, while maize was obtained from the fertile valleys farther inland.[2] On the islands of the Santa Barbara Channel were many Indian villages, where the communal hut sheltered as high a number as fifty souls, men, women, and children, who lived together, sleeping upon the bare ground. On some of the islands the natives went naked and decorated their faces with checked patterns, like a chess-board;[3] on others they clothed themselves in the skins of the "sea-wolves," whose teeth served them for cutting-tools and whose body for food.[4] Their baskets were manufactured from rushes, woven so closely that water was transported in them, and smeared outside and in with pitch or bitumen.[5] In rush-woven or plank canoes, the latter of which could carry twenty men, they speared the fish and the sea-wolves with harpoons tipped with fish bones, and crossed to the mainland, where they traded the roots dug upon their islands and beads fashioned from the bones of the fish they had caught.[1]

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[1] Oñate, "Relacion del Viaje," p. 183, quoted in *Final Rept.*, Pt pp. 107, 109, 113 and note.

[2] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 110

[3] "Relation of the nauigation and discouery which Captaine Ferna Alarchon made by the order of the right honourable Lord Don Antoni Mendoça, Vizeroy of New Spaine," *Hak.*, vol. iv., p. 1; *Final Rept.* I., p. 107.

[4] *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 111; Alarchon, Rel., *passim*

[5] *Ibid.*, Pt. I., p. 110.

[6] *Ibid.*, Pt. I., pp. 106, 111

[7] "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 98; *Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 72, 73, 102, 103, 105.

[8] H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. of Northwest Coast*, vol. i., p. 137, *i. e.*, omi the apocryphal voyage of Juan de Fuca in 1596.

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[1] Powell, in the map accompanying "The Linguistic Families," shows besides the great Yuman and Shoshonean groups, as many as ten different linguistic families distributed along the coast of Alta California to the Oregon boundary. These are: the Chumashan, Salinan, Esselenian, Costanoan, Moquelumnan, Kulanapan, Yukian, Athapascan, Wishoskan, and Weitspekan groups. For their distribution in the eighteenth century and since, see Bancroft, "Californians," *Native Races*, vol. i., chap. iv., p. 322; Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California*.

[2] Cabrillo, Rel. *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 180, 182, 183, 187; Viscaino in Venegas, *Hist. Cal.*, vol. ii., p. 277 (Eng. edit., 1759).

[3] Cabrillo, *ibid.*, pp. 179, 183; and Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 7, lib. v., cap. iii., p. 89.

[4] Viscaino in Venegas, vol. ii., p. 276; "A Description of California," by Capt. John Rodgers in Venegas, vol. ii., p. 359.

[5] Viscaino, *ibid.*, pp. 275, 276; Wheeler, *Report upon United States Geographical Survey*, vol. ii., p. 23, Introduction by F. W. Putnam.

There is now no record of what their religious practices may then have been. Mr. Powers, writing of the California tribes at a much later date, says, " I am thoroughly convinced that a great majority of the California Indians had no conception whatever of a Supreme Being "; but Vizcaino has left a description of a " temple for sacrifice," seen by him on one of these islands.

> " It was a large enclosure entirely level; and near the altar an ample circle surrounded with the feathers of different kinds of birds, possibly of such as had been sacrificed to the idols. Within the circle was a figure painted with a variety of colours; and resembling the image by which the Indians of New Spain represented the devil. In its hands it held the figures of the sun and moon."[2]

The Indians of the mainland were in some respects better off. At the harbour of San Diego, the first locality visited by the Spaniards, they dressed in the skins of animals which they trapped with nets, painted themselves in black and white and ornamented their heads with feathers.[3]

By far the densest population extended from San Buenaventura to Cape Conception, where, in the fertile region between the San Rafael Range and the sea, were found numerous tribes, speaking a variety of languages and frequently at war with each other. Their many villages[4] appear to have been of a common type and consisted of large, round, well-protected cabins, probably communal, with double sloping roofs " like those of New

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[1] Vizcaino in Venegas, vol. ii., pp. 275, 277, 281; Cabrillo, Herrera, vol. iii., dec. vii., lib. v., cap. iii., p. 89.

[2] Torquemada, " Monarchia Indiana," lib. v., translated in Venegas, vol. ii., p. 276.

[3] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 179; Viscaino in Venegas, vol. ii., pp. 271-272.

[4] Powell in " Indian Migrations," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 38, says California and Oregon were occupied by the densest native populatio

Spain,"[1] built around a public commons. Each village had a circular enclosure made of stones planted on end to the height of three palms, in the centre of which was a high, painted post around which the natives conducted their festivities, and the burying-grounds were fenced in with boards. Like the other coast tribes, these villagers dressed in the skins of animals and tied up their long hair with strings to which were fastened ornaments of small daggers made of flint, wood, and bone. One of the tribes in this region, when visited by Cabrillo, was governed by a chieftainess to whom several of the villages owed allegiance. Here, as elsewhere along the shore, the natives had excellent canoes, some of them of large size.[2] About Monterey,[3] as well as beyond the entrance to the bay of San Francisco, were other settlements. The Indians in the vicinity of Drake's Bay lived in circular huts partly excavated, with sides and tapering roofs formed of wooden poles and covered with earth which kept them water-tight and warm. Within, the ground was strewn with rushes upon which the natives slept. The men went naked, but the women wore skirts made of bulrushes combed out like hemp and deer-skins over their shoulders. In their ceremonial dances paint and feathers played the usual part; their chief, at the time of Drake's visit, was dressed in a rabbit-skin cloak, and the women scarified their faces as a sign of mourning or to propitiate their idols.[4]

This completes the review of the approximate distribution of Indian tribes in the southern territory of the United States at the period of the first Spanish invasion.

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in our country; Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 181, gives the names of twenty-five, and, p, 183, of sixteen, villages about this region; see also Vizcaino in Venegas, vol. ii., p. 280.

[1] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 183–184, and in Herrera *ubi supra*. Putnam, "Southern Californians," in Wheeler, *U. S. Survey*, vol. vii., p. 26, suggests that they were perhaps square-framed lodges.

[2] Cabrillo, *ibid.*, pp. 180–184.

[3] Vizcaino in Venegas, vol. ii., p. 287.

[4] Drake's narrative, *Hak.*, vol. iv., pp. 41–44.

Four of these great families, the Yuman, Piman, Athapascan, and Coahuiltecan, extended beyond the present boundary of our country into Mexico.[1] That the lines of demarkation between the possessions of the various families must not be considered hard and fast has been sufficiently dwelt upon in the opening of the chapter. Of the dwellers along the Rio Grande, Mr. Bandelier says that "with the exception of Acoma, there is not a single pueblo standing where it was at the time of Coronado, or even sixty years later." If such was the case with the typical sedentary Indians, what may not have been the ebbs and floods of population in other localities! Neither should it be forgotten that much which is descriptive of customs and manners must be derived from assumed analogy of these early tribes with their known descendants. Intelligent and learned specialists have carefully eliminated from the ways of the Indian of to-day, or from descriptions found in the records of the eighteenth century all matters that reveal a foreign influence, and have reconstructed, it may well be said, the native product of forest and swamp, of mountain and prairie. A reference to the authorities from whom the descriptions in this chapter are obtained illustrates the existence of contemporary sources amply sufficient to convey a correct picture of the Indian who hunted and fished along the Atlantic coast and who resisted the foreign invader in the heart of the Rocky Mountains, but only with the end of the following century did the French discoverers of the Mississippi River furnish the first authentic information of the tribes along its banks and in the interior. Nay, so extended and unexplored was the great area which came under the Spanish dominion, that only in the first part of the nineteenth century have certain tribes become known, that have probably inhabited the same region for the last three hundred years.

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[1] "Linguistic Families," *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 128.

CHAPTER IV

SPAIN AT THE CLOSE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

TO rightly understand the metal out of which these daring sailors, aggressive soldiers, arbitrary governors, and turbulent colonists were cast, it is necessary to review very briefly the history of their country; for national characteristics are not the outgrowth of a generation. With the close of the fifteenth century Spain had entered upon the path which was to lead to her future greatness as well as to her final decadence. The last foothold of the Spanish Moors had been overthrown and its territory annexed to the united crowns of Castile and Aragon. The same unifying principle had exhibited itself in the purification of the faith by the establishment of the Inquisition, the expulsion of the Jews and persevering efforts to convert the Moorish inhabitants to the religion of their conquerors; finally a new and unexplored region had been discovered beyond the seas that gave promise, in the near future, of empire and wealth to baffle the conception of the wildest imagination; so that Spain appeared to offer to the astonished gaze of Europe "One monarch, one empire, and one sword."[1]

Such, indeed, was the brilliant goal toward which events were rapidly tending, but to which, as a matter of fact, Spain was yet far from having attained. In place of a united country, the Iberian Peninsula was still divided into a number of provinces, each with distinct traditions, customs, languages,[1] laws, and governing bodies of its own. In place of a single faith, Christians, Mohammedans, and secret Jews still practised their individual rites. In place of a homogeneous people, Arab, Hebrew, and Spaniard still occupied the land they had possessed for centuries, so that the remarkable fact becomes apparent that a comparatively small group of one of these three races, by dint of sheer force of character, courage, and singleness of purpose, not only imposed its laws, its faith, and its language upon the remaining inhabitants of the Peninsula, but also conquered and possessed a continent on the other side of the world. The conflict had been a prolonged one, but it was their courage, their loyalty to king and faith, their consciousness of a divine mission and an exalted religious fervour deepened by time into a fierce fanaticism that had upheld twenty generations of Spaniards through eight centuries of struggle with the invading Moor on more than three thousand battle-fields.[2]

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[1] Hernando de Acuña, "Un Monarca, un Imperio, y una Espada," quoted in Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i., p. 489, note 1. Fourth American edition, Boston.

With the Moorish conquest the lower orders of the subjugated inhabitants, while retaining their Christian faith, had in time adopted the customs of their masters; but the men of nobler spirit and higher rank withdrew into the fastnesses of the Asturian hills and the mountain valleys of the Pyrenees,[3] whither the invader refused to pursue them. From thence, after a brief pause to recover breath, there issued from the cave of Covadonga the bands of warriors who were destined in the course of centuries to re-establish the supremacy of the Cross and of the Spaniard. Aragon had acquired the dimensions of the present province by her union with Catalonia in the twelfth century and by the conquest of Valencia in the thirteenth.[1] The struggle of the men of Asturia was much more prolonged. By the middle of the ninth century but a small part of the north-west had been reoccupied and the Christian hosts had reached the Duro.[2] The close of the eleventh century saw their former capital of Toledo again in their hands.[3] Only with the final capture of Granada in 1492 was the old Spanish monarchy restored. And now, with the close of the fifteenth century and the union of the two crowns, the Atlantic provinces of Castile, consisting of the Asturias, Galicia, and Andalusia facing upon two seas, with their ports of Coruña and Cadiz, the latter the destined mart of a new world, were united in a common interest with the Mediterranean provinces of Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia with their flourishing and extensive commerce.

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[1] For the various dialects prevalent in Spain about 1500, see Ticknor, *Hist. Spanish Literature*, vol. ii., pp. 27, 28.

[2] Robertson's *Charles V.*, vol. i., p. 145, London, 1769.

[3] Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. xxxiv., Philadelphia, 1869.

The prolonged occupation of the Peninsula by the Moors had left its mark not only upon the usages, beliefs, and languages[4] of the people, but in the very blood that coursed through their veins by intermarriages between the alien race and that class of the early Spanish population which had remained on the soil under the tolerant administration of the invader. Their women were invited to marry with the conquerors, and to so great an extent was this privilege availed of, that in 1311 the ambassadors of James II. of Aragon represented to the Pope that of the two hundred thousand souls, which then composed the population of Granada, there were not more than five hundred of pure Moorish descent.[5] Indeed, so widespread had been the Arabic occupation, so established the Mohammedan religion, that they gave rise to the tradition that the city of Santa Fé, founded on the site of the Spanish camp before Granada, was so named because it was the only city in Spain where no Moslem prayer had ever been offered.[1]

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[1] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., pp. xxxii., xxxiii., xci.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 287.

[3] Buckle, *History of Civilisation in England*, vol. ii., p. 440, London, 1878.

[4] Ticknor, *Hist. Spanish Literature*, vol. iii., p. 462.

[5] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. 274, note 8.

Much the same policy was observed by the Spaniard during the reconquest. Many Moors were allowed to remain throughout the north after the main body had been driven back, who, while they adopted the language and customs of their neighbours, retained their ancestral faith.[2] With the reduction of the southern provinces and the conquest of Granada a large Moorish population became subject to Spain, among which it is interesting to note the presence within Granada itself of fifty thousand renegadoes or Christians who had embraced Islamism.[3] The final subjugation of the Moors was shortly followed by strenuous efforts to impose the Catholic faith upon these newly acquired subjects, in which every revolt, however slight, was made the pretext to offer the unfortunate rebels the alternative of baptism or exile.[4] Conversions by the tens of thousands[5] followed these attempts, yet on the final expulsion of the Moors just one century later, it is said that six hundred thousand souls were driven out of the country.[6]

It is a much more difficult matter to prove the presence of a considerable Jewish population subsequent to the edict of 1492, which was enforced with such rigour that it is said by one Jewish authority to have deprived Spain of the twentieth part of her inhabitants. The difficulty arises from the fact that those Jews who stayed behind did so under the assumed mask of Christianity,[1] yet clung in secret to their religious observances with that tenacity of conviction they have ever displayed in times of persecution. It is only by inference from the occasional mention of names of known Jewish descent, occasional data obtained from the records of the Inquisition, and the presumption raised by legislative enactments, that any conclusion can be arrived at.

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[1] Ticknor, *Hist. Spanish Literature*, vol. ii., p. 315, note 25.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 102, 103, note 33; vol. iii., p. 461, note 46, says these were originally called "Moros latinisados." Those in Andalusia and Castile were called "Mudejares." Mariana, *Historia General de España*, tomo vi., p. 425, Madrid, 1794.

[3] Mariana, *ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 285.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 425 *et passim*.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. vi., pp. 400, 502; Ticknor, *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 479, and note 8; *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii., pp. 422, 448.

[6] Ticknor, *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 270, and note 2.

At the date of their expulsion the Jews had been in Spain for fifteen hundred years.[2] They were numerous in all the large cities as well as in the towns and villages.[3] There were many among the Moors,[4] and one Spanish historian [5] states that they numbered considerably over a million souls at the time of their expulsion, which enumeration, if it includes the Marranos or secret Jews publicly professing Christianity, may not be a very gross exaggeration. Certain it is that they filled many and highly important positions from that of royal treasurers, physicians, merchants, and men of learning down to the humbler spheres of farmers, artisans, and armour and metal workers of all kinds,[6] and their wealth became correspondingly great. The massacres of 1391 and later persecutions induced vast numbers "to submit to baptism," though the conversion penetrated no deeper than the chrism used in administering the rite. These converts, New Christians or Marranos and their descendants, conforming externally to the requirements of the Church, continued in secret the strict and loyal observance of their religion and dwelt by hundreds and thousands throughout the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, forming a third part of the townspeople. Some held high ecclesiastical and civil dignities and their wealth was the occasion of frequent intermarriages with Christians.[1] That numbers of these New Christians relapsed into Judaism is shown by the frequent persecutions directed against them.

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[1] Graetz, *History of the Jews*, vol. iv. p. 354, Philadelphia, 1891.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 348.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. iv., pp. 354, 357, 358 *et passim*.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 343; *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. 236.

[5] Andrés Bernáldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*, tomo. i., p. 338, cited in Kayserling's *Christopher Columbus*, p. 87. He gives the number as 1,160,000.

[6] Graetz, *Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 353.

It can scarcely be doubted that on the expulsion of the Jews who openly practised their religion a large number of these Marranos remained in the kingdom. Aside from the very natural inference that those who had conformed in the past would continue to do so under the stress of persecution in order to protect their families, their fortunes, and even to render what assistance was in their power to their less fortunate brethren, there is the more substantial evidence of the continued persecution of relapses for years subsequent to the expulsion.[2] There was also a large accession of Castilian Jews on the annexation of Navarre in 1515 to the Castilian crown, the greater number of which had adopted Christianity.[3] Edict after edict forbade their emigration to and settlement in the Indies,[4] edicts which could alone affect Spanish Jews, as Cadiz was the only port from which they could set sail; and there is ample evidence of important posts both at home and abroad still occupied by Christianised Jews subsequent to the expulsion.[5] In fine it may be reasonably assumed that the crew of Columbus's first fleet with its mixed body of Spaniards, Moors, and Jews,[1] was fairly representative of the three races which acknowledged the sovereignty of Castile and Aragon at the close of the fifteenth century.

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[1] Graetz, *Hist. of the Jews*, vol. iv., pp. 309, 333, 334, 343; Kayserling, *Columbus*, Preface, pp. x., xi., 27, 30; *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., pp. 240, 242; vol. ii., pp. 7, 136; Ticknor, *Hist. Spanish Literature*, vol. i., p. 464.

[2] Mariana, *Hist. de España*, vol. vi., p. 93.

[3] Graetz, *ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 358.

[4] Kayserling, *ibid.*, p. 169, Appendix xviii.; Herrera, vol. i., dec. i., lib. iv., cap. xii., p. 118, and vol. ii., dec. iii., lib. v., cap. ii., p. 151; J. A. Saco, *Historia de la Esclavitud*, pp. 61, 66, 67, Barcelona, 1879; *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, lib. ix., tit. 26, ley 15 (1522), and *ibid.*, ley 16 (1518), 5a edicion, Madrid, 1841.

[5] Kayserling, *ibid.*, pp. 127–130.

The nobility, which, with the chartered communities and the Church, constituted the most powerful classes of the realm, were a proud, haughty, and turbulent element, possessed of great wealth, equal in Castile to one third of the entire kingdom, while the Aragonese were scarcely less rich. The Castilians were the more restless, but in both countries the generation was yet living which had witnessed the lawlessness, the brigandage, and turbulence of the *bandos* or armed feuds during the reigns of the fathers of Ferdinand and Isabella, when noble was arrayed against noble in bloody and sanguinary feud and the kingly authority itself was not respected.[2] Their fortified castles covered the country and gave their name to the province of Castile.[3] War was their native element in which they were trained from their youth. Mere boys accompanied their fathers to battle and did good service too, as in the case of a descendant of the noble house of Ponce de Leon, who took his thirteen-year-old son with him to the wars, and another scion of the same family, who, when scarcely seventeen years old, with unlaced buckler and a sling snatched from the enemy, put to flight a party of Moors.[4] Hawking, the tourney, the joust, the tilting with reeds, were still noble amusements; single combat and the duello still knightly customs, and even as late at 1535 the Emperor Charles V. himself, in Moorish costume, publicly engaged in the bull fight at the marriage of his daughter to the Duke of Florence.[5]

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[1] Kayserling, *Columbus*, pp. 89-91.

[2] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., pp. lxi., lxxxix., xci., 88, 131; Ticknor, *Hist. Spanish Literature*, vol. i., pp. 211.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 8.

[4] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., pp. lxii., 320.

[5] Ticknor, *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 262, 276, 450, 526; vol. ii., p. 474.

It is true that Isabella had forbidden the duel,[1] and brought under with a strong hand the turbulence and licentiousness of her father's reign;[2] but these were recent innovations, and the schooling of the generation which undertook the subjection of the New World was but too well exemplified in the licence which attended it.

The long struggle with the Moor had given rise to the famous Military Orders, partly of a religious nature, of Santiago, Calatrava, and Alcantara, originally instituted to fight the battle of the Faith. These orders had at this time attained to such vast possessions that their united revenues amounted to one hundred and forty-five thousand ducats, and the Peninsula was studded with their castles, towns, and convents, so that with their numerous dependents they were able to put large forces of armed men in the field. Their wealth and soldiery, united with their independence of royal jurisdiction, had long made them a power to be dreaded; but by the end of the century (1487–99) the grand-mastership of all three orders had been transferred to the crown of Castile and their power for evil thus greatly reduced.[3] As a necessary consequence this military spirit and the love of adventure had bred in the higher classes a contempt for labour, which rendered it necessary for scions of good family to enter the Church or the army to earn an honourable living,[4] a serious disadvantage when these bellicose *hidalgos*, who could handle only the sword and the arquebus, became the colonists of a country but sparsely settled, or where the natives refused to support them.

After his conquest of Mexico, Fernando Cortés asked the Emperor Charles V. to send him some monks for the conversion of the Indians, because, he said,

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[1] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. 204.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 180 *et seq.*, 199.

[3] Mariana, *Hist. de España*, vol. vi., p. 319; *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., pp. 211–217.

[4] Ticknor, *Hist. Spanish Literature*, vol. iii., p. 269 and note 1.

"if there be bishops and other prelates, they cannot but continue the habit, to which for our sins they are now given, of disposing of the goods of the Church, which is to waste them in pompous ceremonies and in other vices in leaving entails to their sons or relations; for," he continues, "should the Indians see the things of the Church and the service of God in the possession of canons or other dignitaries, and should learn that such were ministers of God and should see them given over to the vices and irreverence that are practised in our day in those realms, it would cause them to undervalue our Faith and hold it to be a matter of sport."[1]

Contemporary literature was equally severe in its strictures upon the vices of the priest,[2] and did it not by its condemnation of the prevalent corruption imply the existence of a worthier class from whose midst was drawn that immortal, though obscure procession of martyrs who bore to the West the first tidings of a Saviour, the condition of the clergy could well have led one to despair for the spiritual welfare not only of the heathen, but of the very Christians themselves.

It was indeed hard to tell whether the higher clergy were ranged on the side of the sword or of the Man of Peace. Cardinal, archbishop, and bishop headed the ranks in battle and plunged into the thickest of the fight. The Archbishop of Toledo, with a white cross on the crimson mantle which he had tossed over his armour, led the war against King Henry IV. of Castile, and rallied the broken squadrons.[3] In the war of Granada, Cardinal Mendoza himself offered to command a troop of horse, while both he and the Bishop of Jean fought in armour.[4] The Bishop of Avila conducted a successful night attack with scaling ladders against the city of Toro during the war with Portugal.[1] But these warrior-priests, says Mariana, were the least evil, the clergy generally being given over to gluttony and dishonesty.[2]

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[1] Barcia, *Historiadores*, tomo i., quarta carta, fol. 154.

[2] Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *Lasarillo de Tórmes* (1553), cited in Ticknor, *Hist. Spanish Literature*, vol. i., p. 550; Valdés, *Dos Dialogos* (1530), cited *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 24.

[3] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., pp. 87, 161 *et seq.*

[4] Mariana, *Hist. de España*, vol. vi., p. 213; *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. 403.

The prevalent corruption and licentiousness of the age had tainted all ranks alike.[3] One bishop, that of St. James, was driven from his see by an angered populace after his attempted outrage of a bride.[4] The fighting Archbishop of Toledo, he of the crimson mantle, was openly buried beside his illegitimate son in the major chapel of a church in a university town.[5] Nor were the morals of the lower clergy any less reprehensible. Concubinage was openly practised,[6] and the introduction into the language of such a word as *trota-conventos*, used with the accepted significance of go-between, but too painfully indicates the depravity extant among the religious orders.[7]

Vain and impotent was the legislation directed against it, so much so that when Ximenes, himself a Franciscan, undertook at the close of the century the reform of the clergy of his diocese, more than a thousand Franciscan monks actually emigrated to Barbary rather than submit to the enforcement of the rule of their order.[8] This, however, was not the worst phase of their corruption, for it is to be remembered that as late as the beginning of the eighth century the concubinage of the clergy had been sanctioned by law;[1] but the same laxity showed itself in other directions. Sometimes it was the bastard son of a priest who succeeded to his father's benefice;[2] at another time an unauthorised issue and trade in blank excommunications[3] and sale of indulgences warranted to release the souls of the damned from hell; the counterfeiting of papal Agnus Dei and the forging and altering of papal letters.[4] Added to this was so great an illiteracy of the clergy that but few of them knew Latin.[5] As might be expected from the comment of Cortés, the wealth of the Church was very great. Lucio Marineo gives the aggregate revenue of the twenty-nine bishoprics of Castile alone as a quarter of a million of ducats, and the Metropolitan Church of Toledo was reputed the wealthiest in Christendom.[6]

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[1] Mariana, *Hist. de España*, vol. vi., p. 155, and see the authorities cited in Buckle, *Hist. of Civilisation*, vol. ii., p. 441.

[2] Mariana, *ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 91.

[3] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. 120, note 11.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 68 (1455.)

[5] Mariana, *ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 193, says Cardinal Ximenes subsequently had the body removed on account of the publicity given to the Archbishop's incontinence.

[6] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. lxviii.

[7] Ticknor, *Hist. Spanish Literature*, vol. i., p. 277, note 19.

[8] H. C. Lea, *An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*, pp. 292, 293, Philadelphia, 1867; Mariana, *ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 387.

Turning now to the people, the occupation of those outside of the cities was largely pastoral, the shepherd's life being more extensively followed than elsewhere in Europe and even exerting a marked influence upon certain forms of Spanish literature.[7] Their attention was mostly turned to the breeding of sheep, wool being the chief staple of the country. At the close of the fourteenth century (1394) Catharine of Lancaster had brought with her as a part of her dowry to the heir apparent of Castile a flock of English merinos; these had been extensively bred and their fleece so improved that it was enabled to compete with any other in Europe.[8] For the superiority of his system of agriculture over that in use elsewhere in Europe, the peasant was indebted to his contact with the Arab,[1] to whom also was due in some parts of the country the survival of heavy burdens, such as the *malos usos* of the peasantry of Catalonia.[2] Tossed to and fro between Christian and Moslem masters, the peasantry of the north of Spain were a rude and fierce people, accustomed to deeds of violence and to brawl and battle on the slightest occasion, as Peter Martyr says of the Galicians, the Asturians, and the inhabitants of the Pyrenees;[3] while the great captain, Gonsalvo, said of the Biscayans, that "he had rather be a lion keeper than undertake to govern them."[4]

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[1] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. lxviii.; vol. ii., p. 397, note 40; *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, p. 125. The law was repealed after five years.

[2] Mariana, *Hist. de España*, vol. vii., p. 132.

[3] *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, p. 438.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

[5] Mariana, *ibid.*, vol. vi., pp. 91, 99.

[6] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. lxix.; vol. iii., p. 435, note 14; Ticknor, *Hist. Spanish Literature*, vol. iii., p. 269, note 1, quotes Cortés on the possessions of the Church in 1552.

[7] Ticknor, *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 116; vol. iii., pp. 62, 92; Conde, *Historia de la Dominacion*, p. 244, quoted in Buckle, *Hist. of Civilisation*, vol. ii., p. 432.

[8] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. lv., note 43; vol. iii., p. 459.

The most advanced population in the industrial arts was found in the large cities, as in Barcelona with her imported wools from England, which she manufactured into cloths, and her cutlery and fine glass factories rivalling those of Venice; Granada and Valencia, with their silks and velvets, and Toledo, with its woollen and silk fabrics, where employment was given to ten thousand artisans, all of which was attended with great wealth and is indicative of remarkable enterprise.[5] Nor were the townspeople behind in the exercise of their power and independence. The cities of Castile, exposed to the repeated attacks of the Arabs, were strongly fortified and exercised a right of jurisdiction over a large extent of adjoining territory. The citizens having been trained to bear arms in defence of their homes, constituted the most effective part of the national militia. They had, as a rule, the right of electing their own magistrates for the regulation of municipal affairs, administered their own civil and criminal law, and were so jealous of the interference of superior power as to place upon the nobles severe restrictions in the acquisition of real property and the erection of fortresses and palaces within their municipalities. Their troops were commanded by their own officers in war.[1] In Aragon the same spirit of independence was shown. Barcelona had a large merchant marine of its own, it being estimated that at the beginning of the sixteenth century there were a thousand merchant vessels in the service of Spain.[2] She was governed by her own senate and councillors, who were invested with many of the rights of sovereignty, such as that of entering into commercial relations with foreign powers and of raising and appropriating public moneys for the benefit of the community ;[3] such were the immunities of her citizens that a Venetian ambassador early in the sixteenth century said of them that they had so many privileges that the king scarcely retained any authority over them.[4]

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[1] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. liv.

[2] Mariana, *Hist. de España*, vol. vi., p. 245.

[3] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii., p. 62. [4] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 28.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. cxi.; vol. iii., pp. 248, 258, 458, 460. For the commerce of Seville see *ibid.*, vol. i., p. lv., note 43.

Serfdom had been abolished in Aragon by Ferdinand II., but slavery still existed. During the last war with the Moors the entire population of a vanquished city was frequently sold into slavery or apportioned among the conquerors and the same fate awaited the inhabitants of a revolted city. Under the predecessors of Ferdinand and Isabella negro slaves had been imported into Seville, although the trade had rested chiefly in the hands of the Portuguese; and in 1495 the first shipload of Indian slaves had been landed on Spanish soil.[5]

Prolonged wars both internal and external, the growth of intolerance and race hatred, the indifference bred by the sight of recurring and remorseless persecutions, had developed a corresponding contempt for human life and sufferings. Where a revolted town was not reduced to slavery, all of its inhabitants, including women and children, were slain. Foundlings were cast into wells and pits or exposed in desert places to die, when they were not laid at the church door, there to be sometimes worried to death by dogs and other animals. The severed heads of the Moors carried at their saddle-bows by returning Christian cavaliers were tossed to the village boys to stimulate their zeal against the Infidel.[1] The penalties of the law were equally inhuman. A madman, who had attempted the life of Ferdinand the Catholic, had his flesh torn off with pincers. Murderers had the right hand cut off before they were hung. Christian renegadoes were transfixed with canes. Capital executions were conducted by shooting the criminal with arrows, and even in the code of the mild Isabella the most petty larceny was punished with stripes, the loss of a member or of life itself.[2]

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[1] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., pp. xiv., xliv.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 454.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. cxiii. *et seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. cxv., and see Mariana, *Hist. de España*, vol. vi., p. 243, for an illustration of the independence of the towns in Aragon.

[5] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. 391, vol. ii., pp. 4, 39, 40, 114, 428; Mariana, *ibid.*, vol. vi., pp. 207, 266; Helps, *The Spanish Conquest in America*, vol. i., pp. 43, 44, 47, 114, New York, 1856; Saco, *Hist. de la Esclavitud*, pp. 24 *et seq.*

What learning, what science there was, had been driven out of the country with the Jews, or lay prone amidst the ruins of the conquered Moors. It is true that with the revival of older universities, like that of Salamanca, a new one, that of Alcala, had been founded,[3] and that printing had been introduced in 1474, the same year which saw the Castilian language appear upon the borders of the Mediterranean;[4] but literature, which consisted of ballads and romances of warlike and knightly achievement, was at a low ebb;[5] a book censorship had been introduced, and all healthy intellectual freedom and culture was crushed out by the Dominican Inquisition.[1] The great masses of the people of all degrees were plunged into the most abject ignorance, whose most characteristic traits were gross credulity and superstition.[2]

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[1] Mariana, *Hist. de España*, vol. vi., p. 266; *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. 406, note 38, vol. ii., p. 372, note 7; Ticknor, *Hist. Spanish Literature*, vol. i., p. 475, note 2.

[2] Mariana, *ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 317; *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. 181, vol. ii., p. 10, vol. iii., p. 11, note 39.

[3] Ticknor, *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 508 *et seq.*; Mariana, *ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 398. Barcelona founded in 1430; *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. cxxi.

[4] Ticknor, *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 355.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 509 *et seq.*

The highest to the lowest were firm believers in portents, prodigies, witchcraft, necromancy, astrology, and all the black arts. For this they were in part indebted to Arab influence, which had cultivated the occult sciences to such an extent that in the school of Cordova alone there were six professors of the occult arts who lectured daily.[3] Princes and archbishops were given to alchemy.[4] The Basque provinces of Spain were so infested with witches that the Emperor Charles V. commissioned Zumarraga, the first Bishop of Mexico, to root them out.[5] Prodigies in the sky, a crown and a resplendant sun, proclaimed the birth of Ferdinand the Catholic.[6] Auguries were drawn from the death of one of Isabella's children.[7] Earthquakes were prophetic of great calamities.[8] Live men could be done to death by the saying of mortuary masses.[9] The great Torquemada kept upon his table the horn of a unicorn to nullify the effects of poison.[10] Every unusual event was attributed to God or the devil, and the latter especially seemed to have amused himself at the expense of a helpless humanity.

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[1] Ticknor, *Hist. Spanish Literature*, vol. ii., pp. 482, 491, note 2 *et passim*; *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii., pp. 207, 208 (1502).

[2] Ticknor, *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 263 *et seq.*

[3] H. C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, vol. iii., p. 429, New York, 1888.

[4] Mariana, *Hist. de España*, vol. vi., p. 193; *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. 14; *Inquisition*, vol. iii., p. 489; Ticknor, *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 544.

[5] D. Lucas Alaman, *Disertaciones sobre la Historia de la República Megicana*, tomo ii., p. 175; Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, *Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga Primer Obispo y Arzobispo de México*, p. 7.

[6] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. 34.

[7] Mariana, *ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 211.

[8] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. iii., p. 174.

[9] Lea, *Inquisition*, vol. iii., p. 447.

[10] Graetz, *Hist. of the Jews*, vol. iv., p. 356.

The Christianity believed in, preached, and practised by the rank and file of the people could rise to no higher level than their own stage of development. It was lurid and gloomy, of merciless cruelty and vengeance, relieved only by the presence of one beneficent divinity — the Mother of God.[1] Canonised men and women acted as intercessors with a vindictive Deity, while money properly administered could command the services of the saints, who were at times even hoodwinked by insincere promises, and indulgences for the greatest crimes could be purchased. What wonder, then, that the people, to use words of Mr. Prescott,[2] "should have learned to attach an exclusive value to external rites, to the forms rather than the spirit of Christianity," when they saw those rites considered efficacious and all sufficing in the absence of all virtue and morality, and the most mysterious of miracles performed by a corrupt, ignorant, and venal clergy!

It was but a natural consequence of the general degradation of the clergy and the military training of the people, that the religious feeling should have expressed itself with much coarseness,[3] and should have been accompanied with appeals to the senses in the gorgeous display and ceremonial of the church festivals, mystery performances, and holiday processions, which to this day distinguish Spain above all other Roman Catholic nations. The heresies which had so often and so seriously troubled other European nations had found in Spain scarcely a foothold,[1] for there had been little time to indulge in theological subtleties while the warlike Infidel was ever challenging to battle. The spirit of intolerance and fanaticism had ample vent in the enduring and fierce hatred of Jew and Saracen, and left incipient heresies alone.

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[1] The religious order of the Immaculate Conception was founded at Toledo in 1484. *Inquisition*, vol. iii., p. 607.

[2] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. lxx.

[3] Seen in the devotional verses of the *Cancionero General*, printed in 1511, and subsequently expurgated by the Inquisition (Ticknor, *Hist. Spanish Literature*, vol. i., pp. 457 *et seq.*), and even in the first quarter of the following century in some of Lope de Vega's *villancicos* to the Holy Sacrament (*ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 220). And see the indecencies of the religious processions such as the Corpus Christi introduced at a later date and described by Mariana in "De Spectaculis" (*ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 293 *et seq.*, 297, 531 *et seq.*, and in Mexico, *Zumárraga*, p. 146).

The Inquisition in Spain, a fruit of misdirected Christian zeal and military loyalty,[2] had been of slow growth. The religious spirit of the Spanish people, accustomed to the frank display of its antagonism to heresy in open contest with the Infidel, did not lend itself readily to the enforcement of inquisitorial methods. Castile and Leon had never had the mediæval inquisition.[3] In Aragon its progress had been excessively slow, meeting with no support either from king or clergy;[4] but with the organisation of the new Dominican Inquisition in 1483 there came a change. The extension of Torquemada's authority over all Spain,[5] the influence of Ferdinand possessed with the idea of bringing about in the faith the same unity he had already achieved with the states of the Peninsula, added to the fact that the spirit of fanaticism, deprived of its vent on the field of battle, must needs find some new channel in which to flow, all combined to give to the Inquisition that terrible and fateful supremacy which it had already acquired by the close of the century; so that a people, which had refused to execute the papal mandates against the Templars and had condemned the inquisitorial processes of torture as contrary to law,[6] had now become the zealous agent of the Holy Office, whose implements of torture filled its cells with the groans of the accused and whose bonfires were fed with human victims. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the host of men and women who suffered on the rack and at the stake for their stubborn tenacity to the faith of their forefathers; but it is one of the well-nigh inexplicable anomalies of national character that a people which had dealt so summarily with heresy at home should have shown so much toleration and forbearance with the idolatry and savage rites of the Indian tribes which came under its sway in the course of the succeeding century, an anomaly not to be explained by the mere subtle distinction between the relapsed and the unconverted.

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[1] *Inquisition*, vol. ii., pp. 162, 187.

[2] Ticknor, *Hist. Spanish Literature*, vol. i., p. 505.

[3] *Inquisition*, vol. ii, pp. 180, 181, 185 *et passim*.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 163, 164, 167, 170, 174, 175; *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., pp. xcv. *et seq.*

[5] *Inquisition*, vol. ii., p. 180, by Sixtus IV. in 1483.

[6] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 170, 179, 312, 333.

But the ascendency of the Inquisition was no indication of subserviency to Rome. Strange as it may seem, the Pope at this period could boast of less influence in Spain than in any other European country.[1] The contest, here as elsewhere, had centred chiefly around the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction involving the right of investiture and of nominations and appointments to church benefices. A prolonged and closely fought struggle was the outcome of it, in which at the end of the fifteenth century, the crown, in the main, still held its own. The kingdoms of Castile and Leon had grown up in complete ecclesiastical independence, their clergy owning no obedience to the Mother Church of Rome;[2] but in the last quarter of the eleventh century, Gregory VII., at the instance of Alfonso VI., had sent a papal legate to reform the Church, and from then on his powers were constantly exercised with greater decisiveness in her internal affairs.[3]

For all that, the spirit of independence was hardly abated. The king assumed as a right the nomination to episcopal sees, appropriated to himself attributes and immunities formerly held sacred to the clergy, vigorously resisted the gradually increasing pretensions of the Holy See, and at the close of the preceding century (1396) had actually imposed the penalty of death upon all Spaniards who should apply to the papal court for nominations to Spanish benefices.[1] Ferdinand the Catholic also had assumed as a right the authority to nominate to episcopal sees; he had not hesitated from opposing himself to the papal legates whenever it suited his purpose, and had even threatened to deny all obedience to the Pope, if he should persist in infringing the rights of the Spanish Crown, an attitude in which he was loyally supported by his queen.[2] So successful were they in maintaining their royal prerogative in this direction, that in the concordat made with Sixtus IV. in 1482 the Pope conceded to the sovereigns the right of nomination to the higher dignities of the Church;[3] and it is interesting to observe that when the Pope Alexander VI., in his bull of the 4th of May, 1492, of his own "mere liberalitie and certeyne science," conferred the dominion of the New World upon the Catholic Kings, it was construed by Spanish authority to have included within its scope that royal patronage of ecclesiastical preferments in America, which the crown had so sedulously maintained as its prerogative within its European domains.[4] Until the union of the two crowns Aragon had shown an identical spirit of insubordination and had uniformly asserted its independence of the temporal supremacy of Rome.[5]

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[1] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., p. lxvi. *et seq.*, xcv. *et seq.*; Henry C. Lea, *Studies in Church History*, p. 180, Philadelphia, 1883.

[2] *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, p. 316.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 319.

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[1] *Studies in Church History*, p. 107, and see Mariana, *Hist. de España*, vol. vi., p. 170, for law forbidding foreigners to be appointed to benefices in Spain.

[2] Leopold Ranke, *The History of the Popes* (Bohn edition), vol. i., p. 30; Mariana, *ibid.*, vol. vi., p. 170; Ticknor, *Hist. Spanish Literature*, vol. i., p. 365, note 1; *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., pp. 178, 218, 222, vol. ii., p. 4, and note 2, p. 84, vol. iii., p. 435. [3] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 436.

[4] Don Antonio Joachin de Ribadeneyra, *Manual Compendio de el Regio Patronato Indiano*, cap. v., p. 59, Madrid, 1755.

[5] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., pp. xcv. *et seq.*

Equally determined had been the resistance of the clergy to papal encroachments, which interfered with their authority over the members of their own body, reduced their powers of appointment, lessened their ecclesiastical rents, and sought to improve their morals. In the eleventh century one episcopal see had remained unfilled for fifty years in direct opposition to papal authority;[1] and Ximenes, in his youth, had been imprisoned for six years by a contumacious archbishop in defiance of a papal bull appointing him to a vacant benefice.[2] As late as 1473 murmurs had arisen in Castile against the payment of a subsidy to the Pope collected from ecclesiastical rents, as being contrary to the liberties of the Church;[3] while the general attitude of the clergy was well exhibited at the Council of Trent in varied attempts to circumscribe the papal authority and dignity.[4]

The circumstances thus briefly narrated had given a distinctive mould to the character of the Spaniard. Born in a rugged and mountainous country and bred on the field of battle, he was hardy, abstemious, and independent. In conflict with a daring and generous adversary, he had become brave and chivalrous, imbibing, in the knightly exploits which had especially distinguished the last war, a passionate and consuming love of adventure; even his imagination was fed upon the ballad and romance of chivalry with their tendency to stimulate exaggerated sentiment.[5] Constantly under arms to hold what he had conquered, he became alert and observant. The experience of war, persecution, and harsh criminal codes had hardened his sensibilities to the sight of suffering and had given him a contempt for human life. Living in a licentious age, he could not escape the contamination of his surroundings. He despised manual labour and found in games of chance that excitement which he craved, even in his hours of leisure.[1]

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[1] *Studies in Church History*, p. 148.

[2] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii., p. 375.

[3] Mariana, *Hist. de España*, vol. vi., p. 91.

[4] Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes*, vol. i., pp. 196, 209, 253, 259, 261–263; *Studies in Church History*, p. 224.

[5] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii., p. 215.

Ignorant, because all science and learning were identified in his mind with Jew and Saracen, and instructed by an ignorant and lax priesthood, he had divorced morality from religion, and thought he could win heaven by the observance of empty formulas. And yet he was essentially a religious man, and the strength and sternness of his convictions, blending with the training of centuries, which had developed to its fullest extent every soldierly quality in his nature, fitted him for the divine mission, for which, like another chosen people, he had ever felt himself to be singled out, that of the Christian crusader fighting against misbelief.[2]

It is only from this point of view that the severe and sweeping expulsion of the Jew[3] can be correctly judged, by which, at a moderate estimate, not less than one hundred and sixty thousand souls[4] were driven from the kingdom under circumstances of excessive hardship; an act of cruelty which, while not unaccompanied by worldly profit in the confiscation of the property of the exiles and the summary repudiation of the debts due them, could never have been countenanced or enforced, had not the masses believed themselves the appointed agents of the Almighty for the purification of the faith. He is a bold pessimist who will question the sincerity of an entire people; neither in passing his condemnation on the cruelty of the age, nor in assigning to Christian intolerance the wholesale expulsion of the Jews, should he remain unmindful of a " modern instance " in which a still greater number of that persecuted race were driven from their adopted homes by a Christian sovereign purely on the grounds of commercial interests, as he has himself professed.[1]

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[1] *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii., p. 29. [3] Edict dated March 20, 1492.

[2] Ticknor, *Hist. Spanish Literature*, vol. i., p. 365.

[4] Kayserling, *Columbus*, p. 87, says 300,000.

With the conclusion of the first decade of the sixteenth century, Ferdinand the Catholic had become, under the judicious management of Cardinal Ximenes, the virtual regent of the kingdom, both as administrator of the realm in the name of his daughter, Johanna the Mad, and as guardian of her son, Charles V., whose name, conjointly with that of his mother, appeared in all public acts. Together with the gradual consolidation of the Peninsula under a single head had come the extension of Spanish influence over the continent. As a result of the Italian complications brought about by the invasion of Italy (1494) by Charles VIII. of France, Spain had subdued Naples and seated a Spanish prince upon its throne; Julius II. had given her access to Central Italy[2] and she had acquired by the treaty of Cambray (1508) her share in the spoliation of the Venetians. In 1509 came African conquests, and the year 1513, which first saw the standard of Castile and Leon unfurled upon the coast of Florida, beheld also the subjection of the kingdom of Navarre to King Ferdinand.

Across the Atlantic the discovery of Columbus had been speedily followed by the famous bulls of May 3, and 4, 1493, of Alexander VI., which established the supremacy of the Spanish Crown in the New World, drew the first line of demarkation between its possessions and those of Portugal, and were followed by the conferring on the Spanish monarchs of the title of "Catholic." The discovery had at once led to the foundation of the

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[1] Harold Frederic estimates a flight of 205,000 souls in nine months during the years 1891–92 under the stress of the Russian persecution. About 75,000 refugees seem to have passed through the port of Hamburg alone.—*The New Exodus*, pp. 281–284. New York and London, 1892.

[2] Ranke, *History of the Popes*, vol. i., p. 75.

India House (Casa de Contractacion), which, in co-operation with the Council of the Indies established in 1511, assumed control of the department of America. The board of the India House was placed under the superintendence of Juan de Fonseca, Archbishop of Seville, who retained the position during the entire reign, and two subordinate functionaries. An office for the transaction of business was established at Seville through which treasure enough is said to have flowed to pave the streets of the city with bricks of gold and silver,[1] and a custom-house at Cadiz was placed under its direction. Commercial regulations were adopted in full consonance with the narrow and peculiar political economy of the age.

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[1] Saco, *Historia de la Esclavitud*, p. 65.

CHAPTER V

THE COLONY OF HISPANIOLA

NOT only in Spain did the future discoverers and colonisers of the territory now occupied by the United States receive their preparatory schooling. At the date with which our history begins thriving colonies had existed for several years in the West Indies, colonies in which Ponce de Leon, Ayllon, Garay, Narvaez, and many others had learned the secret of dealing with the natives of their prospective American dominions, as well as with the king and his advisers in the far-away mother country. In rapid succession, Hayti, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Jamaica had been discovered and for some years had become the abode of the Spanish adventurers. First of this group of settlements both in age and importance, was that of Hispaniola, of which Don José Antonio Saco has truly said that it was the mother of the Hispano-American colonies.[1]

What, then, was the state of affairs about the year 1513 in the new colony of Hispaniola? The island, which is about the size of Ireland, and in outline nearly resembles a huge lobster-claw, lies on the northern side of the Caribbean Sea, with jaws open, as if about to seize upon the tail end of Cuba to the west of it, which is shaped somewhat like a great fish in the act of escaping from its grasp. Sir Spencer St. John[2] relates the story of a British admiral, who, crumpling a sheet of paper in his hand, threw it upon the table before George III., saying, "Sire, Hayti looks like that." It is a confused agglomeration of mountains, the outlines of their lofty summits softened and rounded by their covering of tropical vegetation except where the rock has broken off, forming sheer precipices, and of deep valleys most irregular in form, and frequently without apparent outlet; through these tumble wild torrents that spread out into broad, shallow rivers as they traverse the alluvial plains of open country between the sea and the mountains which push their buttresses almost into the waves. Indeed, the island presents so mountainous an appearance that, approach it from what side you will, it is difficult to believe that so many smiling and fertile plains are to be found within every department.

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[1] *Historia de la Esclavitud*, p. 72.

[2] *Hayti; or The Black Republic* (2d ed.), p. 1. New York, 1889.

"I have travelled in almost every quarter of the globe," says the same author, "and I may say that, taken as a whole, there is not a finer island than St. Domingo. No country possesses greater capabilities or a better geographical position, or more variety of soil, of climate, and of production, with magnificent scenery of every description, and hillsides where the pleasantest of health resorts might be established."[1]

It was amidst such scenes that the first settlement in the New World was planted, and met with a fate prophetic of the doom which has ultimately overtaken this, the most beautiful of the Antilles, and which has made of it in our day the abode of an exotic race rapidly relapsing into the most debasing stages of savagery. On Christmas eve, 1492, the *Santa Maria* had been wrecked near the present Laycul Bay, and on his departure Columbus had left a small company to await his return;[2] among them were a notary and a constable, carpenter and caulker, gunner, machinist, cooper, physician, and tailor,[1] and not improbably some of the impressed criminals for whom the Admiral had made his ill-advised request to the queen.[2] With them had been left provisions for a year, including biscuits and wine. Returning in 1493 to the same locality, he found that jealousies and rivalries, greed, licence, and lust had held high revel, and his little colony had melted away.

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[1] *Hayti; or The Black Republic*, pp. 2, 3, 20; James Anthony Froude, *The English in the West Indies*, p. 346, New York, 1888.

[2] Of either thirty-six or forty-three persons.—Saco, *Esclavitud*, p. 57.

Twenty years later a great change had been wrought in the aspect of the island. Seaports had been built, towns and villages planted, and fortifications erected; gold mines had been opened, agriculture was in progress, stock was raised, farms were worked, and even certain crude industries had been established. Nobles, soldiers, merchants, artisans, negroes, speculators, priests, friars, and slave-traders jostled each other in the public square of the city of Santo Domingo, and in the harbour caravel, galleon, and brigantine were loading up with brazil and other native woods, cotton, sugar, and gold ingots, and complaining letters from those in power and those out of power, and were taking on board a motley homeward-bound company of suspended officials returning to Spain under a cloud, Jews and new converts expelled from the island, and Carib slaves.

By 1513 there were already seventeen Spanish towns on the island to which charters and arms had been granted by the king;[3] Esquivel had made a settlement in Jamaica,[4] Ponce de Leon was in Puerto Rico,[5] and Velasquez had planted a colony on the island of Cuba.[6]

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[1] Justin Winsor, *Christopher Columbus*, p. 234; John Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, vol. ii., Appendix C, p. 595.

[2] Saco, *Hist. de la Esclavitud*, pp. 371–372.

[3] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vi., cap. x., p. 161; lib. vii., cap. ii., p. 179.

[4] *Ibid.*, lib. vii., cap. xi., p. 192.

[5] *Ibid.*, lib. vii., cap. xiii., p. 195.

[6] *Ibid.*, lib. ix., cap. ii., p. 231, and cap. ix., p. 244.

In spite of arms and charters the towns were still but flimsy structures, for that of Santo Domingo was twice blown down by violent hurricanes in which the stone buildings alone remained standing.[1] They were laid out in streets and squares, probably after the pattern of a central plaza around which were grouped the government structures. These were built of stone while the less pretentious buildings were of timber and thatched, doubtless after the native fashion, with palm leaves; occasionally the dwelling of a wealthy man vied with the more stable buildings and was constructed of a kind of concrete moulded on the spot, or even of stone, as was the case in the towns of Isabella and Santo Domingo.[2] On some commanding point stood the castle, sometimes of timber or of clay and timber, around which, where practicable, a ditch was carried.[3] In the town of Santo Domingo there were now three new monasteries, occupied by the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Mercenarians, that of the followers of St. Dominic being still but a thatched house,[4] as were also, in all likelihood, those of the others. It had also a hospital built by Ovando and dedicated to St. Nicholas.[5] The king had directed that the churches should be erected and furnished at his own expense, and a ten per cent. tax had been levied on vegetable and other products for the building of churches;[6] but such had been the ecclesiastical maladministration of the royal gifts, coupled with the difficulty of collecting the tithes, that it was a scandal to hear the excommunications and maledictions[7] for their non-payment read out every feast-day in the churches; and in 1509 the church in the city of Santo Domingo was still of thatch and divine service could not be conducted in it if a little rain fell.[1] Of course, many of these towns could have been but mere groups of thatched sheds, since as few as forty or fifty families sufficed to form a settlement.[2]

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[1] Herrera, lib. v., cap. ii., p. 126; lib. vii., cap. x., p. 190.

[2] *Ibid.*, lib. v., cap. iv., p. 130, and lib. ii., cap. x., p. 50.

[3] *Ibid.*, lib. ii., cap. xii., p. 53, and lib. v., cap. iv., p. 130.

[4] *Ibid.*, lib. v., cap. iv., p. 130, and lib. viii., cap. xi., p. 221.

[5] Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, vol. i., p. 199.

[6] Law of October 5, 1501. Saco, *Hist. de la Esclavitud*, pp. 126, 127.

[7] "Relacion fecha por mandado del Doctor Beltran," etc. *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxxiv., p. 149.

The climate had proved most beneficial to cattle and other domestic animals, which had increased with great rapidity.[3] On his second voyage Columbus had brought over cows, mares, and horses from Spain, and from the Canaries calves, goats, sheep, and swine;[4] and so greatly had these with subsequent additions multiplied on the islands, that in 1506 it was found necessary to hunt the wild swine with dogs, they having grown so numerous as to kill the cattle.[5] The agricultural interests of the island had also been promoted. On his second voyage, previously referred to, Columbus had brought over with him plants and trees, the cereals, and a great variety of seeds.[6] So far as the all-absorbing search for gold would permit, these had been cultivated with the help of the native Indian slaves,[7] who were no longer exclusively employed in the gold mines. Cotton, which formed one of the tributes paid by the natives to their conquerors,[8] had begun to be planted and was grown in considerable quantities,[9] and the cultivation of the sugar-cane, the

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[1] "Vna yglesia de paxa quen lloviendo un poco, non se puede en ella decir los Officios dyvinos. Relacion del estado en que se allaba la Yglesia de Sancto Domingo," etc. *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxxiv., pp. 111, 119.

[2] Royal Cedula with Luis de Arriaga of September 5, 1501, Saco, *ibid.*, p. 61: Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. v., cap. iii., p. 128.

[3] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. iii., cap. vii., p. 74, and cap. xiv., p. 90; in Jamaica, *ibid.*, lib. vii., cap. xiii., p. 196; in Cuba, *ibid.*, lib. ix., cap. v., p. 236.

[4] *Ibid.*, lib. ii., cap. vi., p. 45.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vi., cap. xvi., p. 169.

[6] *Ibid.*, lib. ii., cap. vi., p. 45.

[7] *Ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. ix., p. 77.

[8] *Ibid.*, lib. ii., cap. xvii., p. 61; lib. iii., cap. v., p. 71, and cap. vi., p. 72.

[9] *Ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. v., p. 71, and cap. vi., p. 72; in Jamaica, dec. 1, lib. vii., cap. xiii., p. 196; in Cuba, dec. 1, lib. ix., cap. v., p. 236.

India variety, introduced from Spain by Columbus in 1493, and from the Canaries in 1506, had developed to such an extent that by 1518 there were forty grinding mills turned by horse- or water-power in Hispaniola alone, and the export of sugar had already begun.[1] Brazil-wood was cut and shipped to Spain;[2] the native staple of cassava bread was extensively raised and shipped to Santo Domingo,[3] and efforts had been directed to the farming of the salt-pits.[4]

But the chiefest of all the products of the island was that of the gold obtained from the mines and extorted as tribute from the natives; "for as the adventurers who went to America dreamed of nothing but gold, and as it was gold that they there sought for, gold that they exacted from the Indians, gold that was given to satisfy them, gold that clicked in their letters to give them standing at Court, and gold that the Court demanded and coveted,"[5] every energy, both human and devilish, was bent to its attainment. Four times a year it was melted down and cast into bars at certain towns appointed for the purpose, under the direction of a "Marker of the Gold" appointed by the Crown, whose salary was one per cent. of the product; and the annual output thus melted down amounted to 460,000 pesos,[6] equivalent to about 2,231,000 dollars at our present valuation.[1] It was this greed for gold which had reduced the native population of the island and brought upon it the curse of negro slavery; a greed so insane that when a native chief offered to plant corn through all the country from sea to sea between Santo Domingo and Isabella sufficient to furnish all Castile with bread, if Columbus would but remit the tribute of gold required of him, the Admiral "being a stranger, alone, and envyed by the ministers of their catholick majesties, and like a discreet man, being sensible that the wealth he sent must be his support,"[2] still pressed for gold, although there was hunger on the islands and provisions had to be brought from Spain.

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[1] Saco, *Hist. de la Esclavitud*, pp. 123-129; Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vi., cap. xvi., p. 169; Kayserling, *Christopher Columbus*, p. 128, note †, quotes Antonio de Capmany y Montpalan, *Memorias historicas sobre la marina, etc., de Barcelona*, vol. ii., p. 43, Madrid, 1779, as authority for the statement that Jews expelled from Portugal first introduced the cultivation of sugar from the island of Madeira to America, but Don José Antonio Saco, and the authorities there cited, conclusively prove the statement in the text.

[2] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. iii., cap. viii., p. 75, and cap. xiii., p. 88.

[3] *Ibid.*, lib. viii., cap. iii., p. 209. The cassava in its purified form is called tapioca.

[4] *Ibid.*, lib. vi., cap. xvi., p. 169.

[5] Don Manuel José Quintana, quoted by Saco, *Hist. de la Esclavitud*, p. 74.

[6] Herrera, vol. 1, dec. i, lib. vi., cap. xviii., p. 172.

By 1496, one third of the native population of Hispaniola had succumbed to disease and starvation.[3] Las Casas says there were at first twelve hundred thousand souls on the island, and although probably an exaggeration, yet in 1509 Ovando could say that there were but few Indians left and that it was necessary to get them from elsewhere.[4] Disease, hunger, enforced labour in the mines far beyond their untrained capacity, indiscriminate and wholesale slaughter on the bare suspicion of revolt, had decimated them by the hundreds and thousands until, desperate and at the limit of all human endurance, they had been forced to take refuge in the mountains and to die of starvation, refusing to till the soil in the vain hope of also starving out their conquerors. Another and not insignificant cause of the decrease arose from the employment of the native women by the Spaniards in various more or less questionable capacities, by which the supply of wives for the Indians was largely reduced. They entered the service of the nobles and *clerigos* as maid-servants; they served as cooks to the herdsmen and labourers with whom they lived, though many of the former had families in Castile, and there had also sprung up a vile trade by which they were sold for evil purposes to vaqueros and miners.[1]

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[1] A. F. Bandelier, *The Gilded Man*, p. 31.

[2] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. ii., cap. xvii., p. 61 (Stevens's translation, vol. i., p. 146).

[3] *Ibid.*, lib. ii., cap. xviii., p. 62.

[4] Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, vol. i., p. 222.

The system of *repartimientos* or *encomiendas*, as they were afterwards called, by which the labour of this native population was distributed among the Spaniards, is thought to have begun in 1496, when, in place of the tribute demanded of certain villages, the Indians were required to work the farms in the Spanish settlements, as they were in the habit of doing for their caciques.[2] This soon developed into the setting apart of a determined amount of land to be kept under cultivation by a chief or his people for the person to whom the land had been assigned.[3] By 1503, under a royal order,[4] it became finally legalised in the system adopted by Ovando, by which he distributed the natives among the Spaniards with a deed which ran in these words: "To you, such a one, is given an encomienda of so many Indians with such a cacique, and you are to teach them the things of our Holy Catholic Faith." A condition, says Sir Arthur Helps,[5] "no more attended to from the first than any formal clause in a deed, which is supposed by the parties concerned to be a mere formality, and, indeed, to be put in chiefly to gratify the lawyers." It can hardly be doubted that the requirement of the law which directed the Indians to be paid for their labour shared the same fate.

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[1] *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. v., pp. 553. 1556; vol. xxxiv., p. 137.

[2] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. iii., cap. xiii., p. 87; Helps, *The Spanish Conquest*, vol. i., p. 148.

[3] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. iii., cap. xvi., p. 95; Helps, *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 163.

[4] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. v., cap. xi., p. 140.

[5] *The Spanish Conquest*, vol. i., p. 193.

But this did not fill the depleted ranks of the natives, and as their numbers rapidly decreased it became of the utmost importance to devise means to supply their places. One way had been pointed out by the great discoverer himself. Columbus, in his memorial of January 30, 1494, had suggested that the cattle of which he stood in want should be paid for with cannibal slaves, and had informed their Highnesses that he had shipped a number of them to Spain.[1] The following year he forwarded some Indians taken in open rebellion[2]; in 1496 more victims accompanied him on his return to Spain,[3] and in 1498, in no wise abashed by the conduct of his royal patrons, who still suspended their judgment as to the propriety of the proposed slave-trade, he again dispatched a cargo of six hundred natives.[4] But at the last the monarchs had reached a conclusion and he met with a stern rebuke, for the queen, to whose crown the Indies belonged, became greatly angered, exclaimed that the Admiral had no authority to dispose of her vassals, and ordered that all the Indians should be returned, except those who, she was informed, had been taken in a just war.[5]

This exception proved to be the entering wedge. We may suppose that the queen, impressed by exaggerated accounts, given from interested motives, of the horrible cruelty and atrocities practised by these Carib cannibals who were constantly at war with the Spaniard and who were stubbornly recalcitrant to the preaching of the True Faith, and mindful, moreover, of how whole villages of rebellious and unbelieving Moors had been sold into slavery in the past wars, at last yielded to repeated and persistent solicitations. However this may be, by licence of the 30th of October, 1503, Queen Isabella authorised the seizure and transportation of the cannibals to other parts of her dominion "in order that, being in the service of Christians, they may the more readily be converted and brought to our Holy Catholic Faith."[1] As a result of this discrimination, it was gradually developed that Cuba and Puerto Rico and Dominica were infested by cannibals, with what consequence to their ultimate fate we can but too readily surmise.[2] Even these means proving insufficient, the king in 1508 authorised the transfer to Hispaniola of the population of the Lucayan Islands, and by a cruel strategy they were enticed aboard ship and carried away.[3] The following year, in reply to the complaint of Ovando, to which allusion has just been made, it was further ordered that the governor "should provide for the mines as many Indians, as may be requisite,"[4] and in 1511 Indians brought from elsewhere were allowed to work in Hispaniola, provided they were not taken from certain islands, in some of which Spanish settlements already existed, and provided, also, that they were taken in war.[5]

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[1] Winsor, *Christopher Columbus*, p. 281.

[2] Helps, *The Spanish Conquest*, vol. i., p. 444.

[3] *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 303.

[4] Helps, *ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 161–162.

[5] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. iv., cap. vii., p. 109.

It had also occurred to the Spanish adventurers to replace the loss with negro slaves, especially for work in the gold mines,[6] as it was found that one negro could do the work of four natives.[7] With the opening of the sixteenth century, sixteen years before Las Casas had favoured the introduction of the negro, the importation had begun,[1] and it is not unlikely that many of the colonists had brought slaves with them at a still earlier date. At first, with a due regard to the purity of the faith, the importation of Christian slaves, or of such as had been raised in Christian families, had alone been permitted,[2] but eithe the law had been so persistently evaded, as its frequent re-enactment would indicate, or the dearth of labourer was so great as to compel a compromise with conscience, and in 1510, under advisement of the Order of Preachers, negro slaves direct from Guinea were introduced,[3] due care being taken, however, as far as the written law went, to exclude such as were Jews or Mohammedans. So extensive had become the trade, that in 1513 it was conducted under a licence, for which the trader paid at the rate of two ducats a head, and in the following year, the number in Hispaniola had become so great in proportio to the whites as to be a source of fear to the latter and to cause measures to be taken to prevent its increase.[4]

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[1] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, etc., ii., p. 414; Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vi., cap. x., p. 162.

[2] Puerto Rico, Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vii., cap. iv., p. 182 (1508); *ibid.*, lib. viii., cap. xii., p. 224 (1511); Dominica, *ibid.*, cap. xii., p. 224 (1511); Cuba, *ibid.*, lib. x., cap. x., p. 281 (1514).

[3] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vii., cap. iii., p. 180.

[4] *Coleccion* de Muñoz, M.S., tomo. xc., quoted in Helps, *The Spanish Conquest*, vol. i., p. 222.

[5] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. viii., cap. ix., p. 218.

[6] *Ibid.*, lib. viii., cap. ix., p. 218 (1510); January, 1505, Saco, *Hist. de la Esclavitud*, p. 62; September 15, 1505, *ibid.*, p. 63; January 22 and February 14, 1510, *ibid.*, p. 67.

[7] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1; lib. ix., cap. v., p. 235.

The reader must not, however, be too hasty in singling out the Spaniard for condemnation. This traffic in human beings was but the spirit of the age, and half a century later the "virgin queen" and the members of the Council of a nation that had but recently cast off the trammels of the spiritual slavery in which Spain still languished, were not averse to taking an interest in a slave-stealing expedition of a daring adventurer destined to be the future head of her navy.[5] Two centuries later (1713

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[1] In 1501, Saco, *ibid.*, pp. 61, 101.

[2] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. iv., cap. xii., p. 118; royal order, 150 Saco, *ibid.*, p. 63; May 3, 1509, *ibid.*, pp. 66–67; instructions to Ovando September 3, 1501, *ibid.*, p. 61.

[3] Saco, *Hist. de la Esclavitud*, pp. 68, 69; *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxxiv., 200; *ibid.*, p. 279 (1518).

[4] Saco, *ibid.*, p. 81.

[5] Froude, *History of England*, vol. viii., pp. 485–486. New York, 187

"among the few parts of the Peace of Utrecht which appear to have given unqualified and unanimous satisfaction at home," says Mr. Lecky,[1] "was the Assiento contract, which made England the great slave-trader of the world."

Side by side with this trade in negro slaves there had grown up another and still more questionable commerce, that of the importation of white slaves, principally women,[2] conducted also under royal licence, and intended to furnish wives for the Spanish residents. The government justified its action on the ground that they made better wives for the Spaniards than the Indian women whom they married, an opinion not wholly unjustified by the complaint of the Governor, Don Diego, and the royal officials, that the colonists turned up their noses at the Castilian *doncellas*, preferring the white slave women, whom they themselves imported.[3] The Spanish population, the masters of the islands, had increased in various ways, that of Santo Domingo alone reaching fifteen hundred souls about five years later.[4]

Owing to peculiar circumstances, emigration and trade were restricted to subjects of the crown of Castile. It was with the treasure of Castile that the islands had been discovered, and even after the union of the two crowns, each monarch had retained the exclusive sovereignty of his own kingdom,[5] and although on the death of Isabella, she had bequeathed to Ferdinand one half of the profits derived from the Indies, Aragon had no dominion in the

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[1] *A History of England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i., p. 138. New York, 1883.

[2] Concession to Ojeda, October 5, 1504, Saco, *Hist. de la Esclavitud*, p. 62; royal order, Burgos, February 23, *ibid.*, p. 80; royal licence to Peralta, July 2, 1512, *ibid.*, p. 73; complaint of Admiral Don Diego Columbus and the royal officers, December 10, 1512, *ibid.*, p. 81.

[3] Saco, *ibid.*, p. 81.

[4] About 1518, *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxxiv., p. 544.

[5] Saco, *ibid.*, p. 83.

New World,[1] which had been left by the queen to her daughter, Johanna the Mad. These restrictions began with Columbus's second voyage,[2] and were continued with but little relaxation, except in so far that at a later date the right to trade in partnership with the natives of Castile was given to such as had married and had settled for twenty years in Seville, Cadiz, or Xeres.[3] Nor were these the only limitations. Trade or emigration to the Indies without a special royal licence and order were expressly forbidden under pain of death,[4] an ordinance, happily, never enforced, says Don José Antonio Saco, and which was subsequently modified to the forfeiture of the ships and merchandise of the delinquent.[5] Stringent laws also forbade the entrance of heretics, Jews, Mohammedans, and new converts into the new dominion.[6] Unlike the trade in negro slaves of heathen origin, this latter provision admitted of no exception, but there is every reason to believe that it proved ineffective, for laws were also passed directing that if any such should be found in Hispaniola, they should be proceeded against and expelled from the island.[7] Indeed, on Columbus's first voyage he was accompanied by a converted Jew, Lewis de Torres, a man of much learning,[8] and who was the first person of Jewish stock to settle in Cuba,[9] and Diego Columbus, in the complaint already referred to, mentions the presence on the island of converted Castilian women.[1]

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[1] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vi., cap. xvi., p. 168; Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, vol. i., p. 210.

[2] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. iii., cap. ii., p. 66.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vi., cap. xvi., p. 168. Order to Ovando in 1502, *ibid.*, lib. v., cap. iii., p. 128; royal cedula, Burgos, September 9, 1511; Saco, *Hist. de la Esclavitud*, p. 68.

[4] Provision of March 30, 1493, Barcelona, renewed May 23, 1493; Saco, *ibid.*, p. 57.

[5] Ordinance of Granada, September 3, 1501; Saco, *ibid.*, pp. 57, 58.

[6] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. v., cap. iii., p. 128 (1502); royal order of May 3, 1509, Saco, *ibid.*, pp. 66, 67.

[7] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vi., cap. xx., p. 175; royal order of 1506, Saco, *ibid.*, p. 63.

[8] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. i., cap. xiv., p. 23.

[9] Kayserling, *Christopher Columbus*, p. 95.

With these artificially created obstacles in the way, the royal pair assiduously applied themselves to provide colonists for the new realm. Less careful of the morals than of the faith of their subjects, they authorised Columbus[2] to deport to the islands all criminals condemned to banishment from Spain, either for life or for a certain time, while exemption from punishment was granted to all such (always excepting heretics, false coiners, and certain others) as would serve the Admiral at their own expense for one or two years. It was an unfortunate expedient. Three years later Columbus himself exclaimed, "I swear that numbers of men have gone to the Indies who did not deserve water from God or man;"[3] although the more lenient Las Casas, who was thrown in their midst but a few years later, observes: "I have known some of them in these islands, even of those who had lost their ears, whom I always found sufficiently honest men."[4]

Every effort was made to induce labourers, artisans, and farmers to emigrate to the New World, such as offers of free transportation for themselves, their flocks, and other property,[5] release of export and import duties during the royal will upon what was required for their support,[6] and the promise of the great wealth which awaited them.[7] Contracts were made for the transportation of families.[8] Numbers of labourers, sailors, farmers, and gardeners, workers in gold and other artisans passed over with the tools and implements of their various crafts, with Columbus,[1] with Ovando,[2] and with other expeditions. Musicians had been sent over "to make the people merry," as well as physicians and surgeons.[3] There was a schoolmaster in Santo Domingo on a yearly salary of nearly one thousand dollars, whose duty it was to teach grammar and instruct the children of the native chiefs, and careful search was directed to be made in order that no profane or scandalous books should fall into their innocent hands.[4] Even ghosts, and Spanish ghosts at that, had made their appearance on the island, for "it was positively affirmed that to two men who were passing along among the buildings of Isabella, there appeared in a street two ranks of men, very well clad, their swords by their sides, with mufflers about their faces, as travellers used to wear them at that time in Spain," who, on being duly saluted, "returned no answer, but, putting their hands to their hats, with them took off their heads, and so vanished," to the no small surprise of the aforesaid two men.[5]

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[1] Saco, *Hist. de la Esclavitud*, p. 81.

[2] Letters Patent of June 22, 1497, Saco, *ibid.*, p. 59; Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. iii., cap. ii., p. 66; Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos*, etc., vol. ii., Nos. 116, 120.

[3] Navarrete, *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 271.

[4] Quoted in Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, vol. i., p. 153.

[5] Asiento of 1501; Saco, *Hist. de la Esclavitud*, p. 61.

[6] Provision of May, 1497; Saco, *ibid.*, p. 58.

[7] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. ix., cap. v., p. 238.

[8] Instructions to Ovando, *ibid.*, lib. iv., cap. xiii., p. 119; asiento with Luis de Arriaga, September 5, 1501, *ibid.*, lib. iv., cap. xii., p. 119, and

To provide for the spiritual welfare of the colonists priests and monks had come over. In 1502, ten Franciscan friars had accompanied Ovando to Hispaniola,[6] followed seven years later by the Dominicans.[7] Although

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lib. v., cap. iii., p. 127; asiento with Alonso Velez de Mendoza, February 15, 1501, Saco, *Hist. de la Escalvitud*, p. 61; also in Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. iv., cap. xii., p. 119.

[1] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. iii., cap. ii., p. 66; Saco, *Hist. de la Esclavitud*, p. 60.

[2] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. v., cap. i., p. 123.

[3] *Ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. ii., p. 66. See the curious suggestion of the Jeronomite Fathers as to the pay of the physician at Santo Domingo, who apparently had found a more profitable employment, *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxxiv., p. 191.

[4] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vi., cap. xx., p. 175.

[5] *Ibid.*, lib. ii., cap. xii., p. 53.

[6] *Ibid.*, lib. v., cap. i., p. 123.

[7] *Ibid.*, lib. vii., cap. xii., p. 193 (1510).

abuses soon arose, such as illegal appointments made by priests to benefices in the gift of the crown, and even, as it would seem, the embezzlement or deliberate theft of church moneys,[1] and although ecclesiastical jealousies cropped out, so that Don Carlos de Aragon, provisor of the absent bishop of the town of La Concepcion, was sent home because he had "railed at the Dominicans" and "lashed out against St. Thomas Aquinas,"[2] yet the friars led exemplary lives, bravely preaching in favour of the Indians, instructing them, and striving hard to reform the morals of the Spaniards by causing them to be married to or to depart from the Indian women with whom they lived.[3] In this motley gathering of all the arts and sciences there remained one learned profession against which an illiberal, if not an unwise, discrimination was exercised, not indeed by the law, whose nurseling it was, but by the popular prejudice of the day, a prejudice not extinct even in the enlightened Europe of the nineteenth century. "Notice having been given that some lawyers, going over into the Indies, had occasioned many differences and lawsuits, it was now (1509) ordered that no more should be permitted to go over into those parts."[4] Thus was the unfortunate advocate made the scapegoat for the evil passions of his employer.

But labourers and craftsmen, negro slaves and friars, were not the only colonisers of the New World. Hidalgos, courtiers, and officials also crossed the sea to try their fortunes and grow rich. On these the absence of restraint, the demoralisation ever attendent upon slave labour, the rapid accession of wealth, and the enervating influence of a tropical climate speedily produced their inevitable effects. Profligacy and lavish expenditure soon dissipated their ill-gotten gains. So extravagantly did they live, says Herrera,[1] that they were always in debt, and at the time for melting gold their creditors took all that was to be had, so that when one of their number "came out of the melting house with his bars of gold exposed to public view, it was ascribed to his being a religious man, who treated his Indians well," referring to the allotments of Indians granted by the government to private individuals, and by which even the salaries of officials were usually paid.[2] Bernardino de Santa Clara, treasurer of the island under Ovando, gave a great entertainment, at which gold dust as taken from the mines was set upon the table in place of salt;[3] their horses were taught to dance and curvet;[4] when not in full armour and hunting the Indians with their hounds, they dressed in brocades, rich silks, and embroideries, until it was thought proper to pass a sumptuary law in order to put a stop to it;[5] they lived with their Indian mistresses taken from among the most beautiful women of the

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[1] "Relacion del estado en que se allaba la Yglesia de Sancto Domingo," etc., *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxxiv., pp. 111 *et seq.*

[2] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. ix., cap. ix., p. 246 (Stevens's translation, vol. ii., p. 31).

[3] *Ibid.*, lib. vi., cap. xviii., p. 171; lib. vii., cap. xii., p. 104.

[4] *Ibid.*, lib. vii., cap. x., p. 191 (Stevens's translation, vol. i., p. 335). That the lawyer was in bad odour among the early Spanish colonists is shown by the numerous requests for his exclusion from the territories of Cuba, Tierra-Firma, Peru, La Plata, and New Spain, collected by Sir Arthur Helps in vol. iii., pp. 24 *et seq.*, of his *Spanish Conquest in America*. Within our own borders in 1785, a written constitution of the State of Franklin, which, however, was not accepted, provided that lawyers be excluded from holding office (Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, vol. iii., p. 166). In the new

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Confederate Diet which met at Frankfort in 1851 with the object of correcting the effects in Germany of the democratic poison of 1848, Manteuffel intimated that in the representation of the estates, "barristers, notaries, physicians, and all such peace disturbers ought to be kept out of the Chamber" (Von Sybel, *The Founding of the German Empire*, vol. ii., p. 153, New York).

[1] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vi., cap. xviii., p. 172; lib. v., cap. xi., p. 141.

[2] *Ibid.*, lib. vi., cap. xvii., p. 171.

[3] *Ibid.*, lib. vii., cap. iii., p. 180.

[4] *Ibid.*, lib. vi., cap. iv., p. 152.

[5] *Ibid.*, lib. vii., cap. xiii., p. 196, which gives the law in full.

island,[1] or imported white slave women whom they ostensibly married. Truly did Columbus, complaining of the Castilians, say that Hispaniola was the greatest country of the world for idlers,[2] and that for the nobles the obligation to work, especially when fasting, was as bad as death.[3]

But there is another side to this picture, equally characteristic and deserving of the highest admiration, for it was amidst these surroundings that Ovando governed, that Father Montesino preached, and that the soul of the great apostle to the Indians was awakened. Such then was the condition of the Spanish colony, the outpost of civilisation in the New World, over which Don Diego Columbus ruled at the period when Ponce de Leon set out on the slave-hunting expedition which resulted in the discovery of the Floridian Peninsula.

[1] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vi., cap. xviii., p. 171.

[2] Saco, *Hist. de la Esclavitud*, p. 60.

[3] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. ii., cap. xii., p. 53.

BOOK II

DISCOVERERS AND ADELANTADOS

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DISCOVERERS AND ADELANTADOS

CHAPTER I

THE DISCOVERY OF FLORIDA

HISTORY is still far removed from being an exact science. Not infrequently the majority of the elements in some of her most interesting problems are uncertain quantities, and the imagination is but too apt to assign to them values which will produce a result predetermined by the more or less sceptical spirit of the investigator.[1] Such appears to be the case with the earliest explorations of the North Atlantic coast, that "Florida" of indefinite extension, whose boundaries stretched to the confines of Labrador or shrank to the restricted dimensions of the peninsula, according to the nationality of the patron in whose interest the explorations were made.

The expedition of Sebastian Cabot would seem to fall within this category, at least in respect to the extent of seacoast which early writers claim he discovered. Those disposed to give the evidence full credit believe that, sailing from Bristol in the month of May, 1497, in a ship called the *Matthew*, Cabot ran down the Atlantic coast from Cape Breton as far south as the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, or even to that of Cuba,[1] and then returned to England, which he reached in the early part of August, and where, on the tenth of the same month, the munificent bounty of £10 was accorded to him for his discovery.[2] In this long journey, which consumed but three months' time, he had accomplished a sailing distance of five thousand three hundred and eighty miles or more, in less than forty days from the date on which he began to sail south.[3] The original records of the voyage are very brief, and the descriptions of the coasts visited are confined to the higher latitudes, where

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[1] See Appendix C in this volume, "The Discovery of Florida by Columbus."

> "hee found so great multitudes of certaine bigge fishes much like vnto Tunies, (which the inhabitants called Baccalaos) that they sometimes stayed his shippes," and a "great plentie of Beares in those regions which vse to eate fish: for plunging themselues into ye water, where they perceiue a multitude of these fishes to lie, they fasten their clawes in their scales, and so draw them to land and eate them, so . . . the Beares being thus satisfied with fish, are not noisome to men."

Mr. Justin Winsor, in his *Christopher Columbus*, published in 1891, does not question the authenticity of the voyage, although he is inclined to doubt that it extended as far as the region of Florida.[4]

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[1] Ramusio in *Hak.*, vol. i., p. 25, upon which see *A Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, p. 9, 2d ed., London, 1832. Gomara quoted in *A Memoir*, p. 21, has "treynta y ochos grados (*Hak.*, vol. i., p. 31). Peter Martyr (*Hak.*, vol. i., p. 28) has "ad occidentémque profectus tantum est vt Cubam Insulam á læua . . . habuerit." The name of the ship is given in an extract quoted in *A Memoir*, p. 79. But Harrisse, in *The Discovery of North America by John Cabot*, Appendix, p. 39 (London, 1897), raises the question as to whether this may not be a forgery of Chatterton.

[2] Fiske, *Discovery of America*, vol. ii., p. 5.

[3] See Appendix D, this volume, "The Discovery of Florida by Cabot."

[4] Dr. Shea, in his "Ancient Florida," in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 231, considers the voyage as doubtful, on the authority of Harrisse.

To the same month of the same year is assigned the controverted voyage of Americus Vespucci by his most ardent advocate, the eminent Francisco Adolpho de Varnhagen, the sole authority for which, however, is Vespucci himself.[1] The story of the alleged expedition is as follows:

Scarcely had five years elapsed since the first discovery of America when the king and queen were beginning to regret the great concessions they had made to Columbus, when as yet they had nothing to concede, and an expedition was determined upon in direct contravention of the established rights of the Admiral.

On the 10th of May, 1497, Vespucci, who had been associated with Beradi in providing naval equipments for the Spanish sovereigns,[2] and who was now about forty-two years of age, sailed from Cadiz in company with Vincente Yañez Pinzon and Diaz de Solis on a voyage of discovery. The fleet consisted of four caravels,[3] in which Vespucci occupied the subordinate, though important, position of navigator, whose duty it was to take the altitudes, note the variations of the compass, reckon the course, observe the currents, and lend all such assistance as was necessary to find a path over the still unknown sea.

Taking his departure from the Canaries, Vespucci crossed the ocean, sailing west, and, passing through the Bahamas, of which no note was made for the reason that

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Charles Deane, in "The Voyages of the Cabots," in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. iii., p. 3, and John Fiske, in his *Discovery of America*, vol. ii., p. 5, both accept the voyage.

[1] Sidney Howard Gay, "Amerigo Vespucci," in *Narr. and. Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 137.

[2] Mr. Gay, *ibid.*, p. 129, says that Muñoz ascertained that Vespucci was equipping the fleet for Columbus's third voyage at this date. Winsor, *Christopher Columbus*, p. 258, says Vespucci assisted Beradi in fitting out Columbus's fleet for the second expedition.

[3] *Discovery of America*, vol. ii., p. 60.

they had been previously discovered by Columbus, he reached Cape Honduras. Proceeding westward, he coasted the shore and sailed around the Peninsula of Yucatan; on the shore of Tabasco, he came upon a remarkable little Indian village built over the waters, and with drawbridges to protect its approach. From this Venezuela, or Little Venice, he made a straight course to the Huasteca country in the neighbourhood of Tampico,[1] and shortly after leaving the latter proceeded to cruise along the coast for a distance of eight hundred and seventy leagues, following closely its windings, and passing the mouth of the Mississippi River, until, in the latter part of April of the following year, he reached the lower end of the Peninsula of Florida, perhaps in the vicinity of Cape Florida. Still hugging the shore, he crept up the coast to the north, until in June of the same year he anchored in Chesapeake Bay.[2] In this bay, which Vespucci declares to have been "the finest harbour in the world," thirty-seven days were spent in repairing the ships, which had become leaky, and in making preparations for the homeward voyage.

Here Vespucci learned that the natives were greatly harassed by certain cannibals, dwellers in a group of islands one hundred leagues at sea. Everything being now in readiness, after his prolonged stay, he proceeded to sail for the Bermudas under the guidance of some of the natives, whose cause against the cannibals he had been induced to espouse. Arrived at the Bermudas, he attacked the islanders, and captured over two hundred of them, with whom he sailed away to Spain, while his native guides returned in a big canoe to the mainland, carrying with them the acceptable gift of some cannibal slaves. On the 15th of October, 1498, the little fleet reached Cadiz in safety with its cargo of captive Indians, which their captors shortly proceeded to sell.

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[1] The Lariab of Varnhagen's original Italian letter of Vespucci.

[2] Varnhagen, in *Vespuce et son Premier Voyage*, Paris, 1858. *Amerigo Vespucci* (Lima, 1865), *Le Premier Voyage de Vespucci* (Vienne, 1869), and other publications on the subject have located this harbour successively in the Bay of St. Lawrence, Chesapeake Bay, and at Cape Cañaveral.

Such is, in substance, the account which Vespucci wrote to his friend Soderini on September 4, 1504,[1] except that the localities have been given modern names as identified by recent research. Unhappily the entire incident is clouded with doubt; not only is there a question as to the locality discovered, the time consumed by the expedition, the date of its return, and the capacity of the fleet to transport so great a number on its homeward voyage, but the very fact of the making of such a journey at the time alleged is seriously contested, and weighty, though not conclusive, evidence is adduced to show the presence of Vespucci in Spain during the entire period covered by the alleged voyage.[2] The weight of opinion of those who have carefully reviewed the testimony appears at present to incline strongly against its probability, and the most favourable conclusion that can be advanced in support of Vespucci's voyage to the coast of North America is to characterise it, in the words of Mr. Justin Winsor, "as nothing but a plausible conjecture after all."[3]

The opening of the sixteenth century was attended by more tangible evidence of a contemporaneous knowledge of the Floridian and eastern coasts of the United States,—the famous Cantino map of 1502, the second in point of time of those accessible to-day which show the New World. It was prepared at a cost of twelve golden ducats by an unknown cartographer for Alberto Cantino, who sent it from Rome about the 19th of November, 1502, to Ercole d' Este, Duke of Ferrara, with whom he was in correspondence.[1] The original map, which is still preserved in the Biblioteca Estense at Modena, is highly interesting. Besides showing the discovered southern portion of the continent, it gives what is supposed to be the Gulf of Mexico, the Peninsula of Florida, and the Atlantic coast above it as far north as latitude fifty-nine degrees, all of them in about their proper relations to Cuba, which latter is delineated as an island. The trend of the alleged Floridian Peninsula is approximately correct, but the Atlantic coast above it runs north and south.

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[1] The original Italian version, so claimed, is printed by Varnhagen.

[2] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, etc., vol. iii., p. 317, after giving a note of a certain payment made Vespucci, January 12, 1496, adds, "Siguió Vespucio disponiendo todas las cosas hasta despachar la armada en Sanlúcar." Harrisse, *Bib. Am. Vet.*, p. 57, says, "From April, 1497, to May 30, 1498, Vespucci was constantly travelling from Seville to San Lucar."

[3] Winsor, *Christopher Columbus*, p. 338. The most favourable view of this Vespucci expedition, based upon Varnhagen, and accepting his conclusions as correct, can be found in Fiske's *Discovery of America*, vol. ii., pp. 50–74. The adverse evidence is admirably summed up in H. H. Bancroft's *Central America*, vol. i., pp. 99–107; and in Mr. Winsor's notes to Gay's essay on Vespucci, in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., pp. 153–156.

Along the coast, east of the crown of the Gulf of Mexico, are twenty-two local names, mostly descriptive; what some have supposed to be the Mississippi River, and others the Appalachicola, is named the River of Palms.[2] The cape at the southern extremity of the peninsula is called the Cape of the End of April; other names on the Atlantic coast are the Cape of the Cat, Red (?) Point, High Coast, and most northerly of all, Coast of the Ocean Sea.[3] The Gulf of Mexico is filled with little islands sown broadcast by the imaginative cartographer; islands are grouped about the south-western termination of Florida, and indented bays are shown upon the same side in a fairly truthful way. The absence of bays and of outlying islands on the eastern Floridian coast is also noticeable and substantially correct.

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[1] Winsor, "Maps of the Earliest Discoverers," in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 107; Fiske, *Discovery of America*, vol. ii., p. 74.

[2] Fiske, *ibid.*, p. 88.

[3] Fiske, *ibid.*, p. 74, gives an enlarged view of this portion of the map from which the islands have been omitted in order to print the names in full, to which he has added on p. 78 a comparative table of the corresponding names on the Cantino and Admiral maps with their translations.

But conjectures as to the origin of the map itself, as well as to what land it was intended to portray, are almost as numerous as the names of its rivers and bays. As the language in which these local names are written is neither good Spanish nor good Portuguese, it has been asserted, in view of the character of their orthography, that the maker of the Cantino map copied it from a Spanish original.[1] The peninsula delineated is at one time Yucatan,[2] at another the island of Cuba, both turned mysteriously askew. For those who accept the Vespucci expedition of 1497–98 it is a veritable Gulf of Mexico and Florida showing the results of that voyage.[3] Others believe it to represent the acquired knowledge of unknown Portuguese or Spanish adventurers,[4] or information obtained from Indian sources in Hispaniola or Cuba and shrewdly applied in the making of the map, for these Indians were not without a knowledge of contiguous coasts;[5] or it may have been the outcome of a rumour picked up from English adventurers. Whatever conclusion may be reached as to its source, it does not appear unreasonable to assume that this part of the Cantino map was intended to represent what it most nearly resembles,—the Florida Peninsula,—and indicates contemporary knowledge of a continuous strip of land to the north and west of Cuba.

Six years after the appearance of the Cantino map, Cuba was officially circumnavigated,[6] but it is not at all improbable that its insularity had been determined before that date, and perhaps attendant upon it had been a glimpse of the coast of Florida.[1] It should not be forgotten that in May, 1565, the Council of the Indies, in a note addressed to the king, claimed that "since the year 1510 up till to-day, fleets as well as ships of this kingdom have at divers times gone to occupy Florida in the name of your Majesty;"[2] but already in March of the same year the capitulation had been made with Menendez for the destruction of the French colony at Fort Caroline in his province of Florida,[3] and it was important that in the controversy with France which its execution was certain to arouse, the king should establish his title at as early a date as possible. Five years after the Ocampo circumnavigation, in the year 1513, came the famous expedition of Ponce de Leon, in which the historian first treads upon the solid ground of undisputed facts.

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[1] Fiske, *Discovery of America*, vol. ii., p. 76.

[2] Winsor, in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 109, note.

[3] Fiske, *ibid.*, vol. ii., pp. 74 *et seq.*

[4] Harrisse cited in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 109; Lelewel, in plate 43 of his *Geographie du Moyen Age*, cited in *ibid.*

[5] See Appendix E, this volume, "Indian Charts."

[6] Brevoort, *Verrazano* (New York, 1874), p. 73; Appendix V, p. 72, contains a good note on explorations of the Gulf coast. Winsor, *Columbus*,

The conclusion of the Moorish wars had thrown out of employment a multitude of men, trained in arms, in the endurance of hardships of every description, and broken to the life of the camp which pleased them better than the luxurious idleness of tapestried chambers and the intrigue of court life. Incidents of personal encounter and single combat had endued them with a spirit of adventure and enterprise in which they eagerly took their lives in their hands in search of renewed excitement. With difficulty could these cavaliers adapt themselves to the arts of peace, and consequently they swarmed over to the New

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pp. 384–385, thinks the official promulgation of Ocampo's circumnavigation in 1508 was not much more than the Spanish acknowledgment of its insularity, which they could no longer deny.

[1] Peter Martyr, writing before 1508 (Basileæ M.D.XXXIII, Decades Tres, dec. i., lib. vi., fol. 16.D), says, "necque enim desunt qui se circuisse Cubam audeat dicere."

[2] "Avis, en original, du conseil des Indes au roi, en date du 5 mai, 1565." in *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, p. 153.

[3] E. Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida*, tomo ii., p. 415. Madrid, 1893.

World, prepared to conquer kingdoms for themselves and their followers. Of such was Juan Ponce de Leon, a native of San Servas in the province of Campos and kingdom of Leon.[1] He was of noble blood[2] and of one of the most ancient families of Spain, that of the Ponces, which traced its descent from a member of the family of Osorio in the twelfth century. The surname of Leon had been acquired by the marriage of one of the Ponces to Doña Aldonza de Leon, daughter of Alfonso IX. and sister of San Fernando who reconquered Seville from the Moors and whose relics now repose within its famous cathedral.

The elder branch of the family had followed the fortunes of the kings of Leon, as the country was gradually reconquered from the infidel, in which it bore its full share of the struggle. In 1440, Don Juan II. granted to Don Pedro Ponce de Leon in exchange for Medellin, of which he was count, the town of Arcos de la Frontera, which, as its name indicates, was one of those frontier towns upon the Moorish confines in the kingdom reconquered by San Fernando. His grandson, Don Juan, had acquired the city of Cadiz in reward for good and loyal services against the Moors, a gift subsequently withdrawn from his descendant in exchange for the dukedom of Arcos, when, with the discovery of the New World, Ferdinand and Isabella realised the importance of Cadiz as a seaport. It was a son of the latter, Don Rodrigo, the famous Marquis of Cadiz, who achieved the conquest of Alhama, the first victory gained by the Spaniards in the last war against Granada.

Juan Ponce de Leon was of a younger branch, which had remained in the former home of the family, but it is evident that the future discoverer of Florida was not without powerful and influential relatives. As a penniless page he had served Pedro Nuñez de Guzman, who later became tutor to the brother of Charles V., the Infante Don Fernando, who was subsequently elected King of the Romans.[1] Ponce had come over to Hispaniola in 1493 with Columbus on his second voyage; "and as he had served in former wars, his experience and valour were recognised, and he was considered a trustworthy man and of good ability," says Oviedo, who knew him well.[2] His age at this time is not known, but such experience as Oviedo here speaks of would seem to indicate that he was probably a mature man and no longer a lad in his teens.[3] He found, as has been seen, a state of discontent on the island, in which he took sides with the constituted authorities.

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[1] Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 4., lib. v., cap. iii., p. 81.

[2] Oviedo, *Hist. General y Natural de las Indias*, vol. i., pp. 467, 468, Madrid, 1851; Garcilaso, *La Florida del Inca*, lib. i., cap. ii., p. 3.

When Nicolas Ovando arrived, in 1502, to supersede Bobadilla, the province of Higuey, comprising the eastern end of the island, was in a state of revolt, the unfortunate inhabitants having risen against the Spaniards. In this war, Juan Ponce, who commanded the men of Santo Domingo, was so successful that at its close he was appointed Ovando's lieutenant in the town of Salvaleon. While residing here, Ponce heard from certain Indians that there was much gold in the neighbouring island of Boriquien, or Puerto Rico, and, having so informed the governor, obtained leave to visit the island and to search for its wealth.

In 1508 he crossed over to Puerto Rico in a small caravel, presented himself before the cacique of the island, exchanged names with him after the native fashion, by which they became sworn brothers,[1] and was then conducted by the chief over his dominion, where many rich treasure rivers were found, and from which samples were sent to Ovando.[2]

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[1] Oviedo, vol. i., p. 468; Gomara, *Histoire Généralle des Indes Occidentales, etc., traduite par S. de Genillé Mart. Fumée.* Paris, MDLXXXVII., liv. ii., chap. 10, p. 57; Garcilaso, *La Florida del Inca*, lib. vi., cap. xxii., p. 266.

[2] Oviedo, vol. i., pp. 467, 558.

[3] The *Dicionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano*, published in Barcelona, says he was born about 1460, but gives no authority for its statement.

In 1509, Ovando was superseded in the governorship of Hispaniola by Diego Columbus, son of the discoverer,[3] and on his return to Spain he recounted to the king the discoveries of Ponce in Puerto Rico and his other services, with such success that Ponce was appointed governor of the island irrespective of the rights of Diego Columbus. Ponce proceeded at once to build a town to establish his supremacy, and to distribute as slaves among his followers the Indians who refused to submit. Nor did he fail himself to set an example of personal courage in reducing the natives.[4] Among his supporters Ponce

> "had a dog, called Bezerillo, that made wonderful havock among those people, and knew which of them were in war and which in peace, like a man ; for which reason the Indians were more afraid of ten Spaniards with the dog, than of one hundred without him, and therefore he had one share and a half of all that was taken allowed him, as was done to one that carried a crossbow, as well in gold as slaves and other things, which his master received. Very extraordinary things were reported of this dog."[5]

One of these Herrera proceeds to relate, showing his remarkable familiarity with the native language, "at which the Spaniards much admired." This hunting of the Indians with greyhounds had been first practised in

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[1] With regard to this custom, see Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, vol. i., p. 192, note, and *Las Casas Hist. Ind.*, lib. ii., cap. viii.

[2] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vii., cap. iv., p. 181 ; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 467.

[3] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vii., cap. x., p. 190.

[4] *Ibid.*, dec. 1, lib. vii., cap. xiii., p. 195 ; Oviedo, vol. i., pp. 468, 469.

[5] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vii., cap. xiii., p. 106, Stevens's trans., vol. i., p. 339 ; Gomara, liv. ii., chap. ix., p. 56, Fumée's trans. His death, which was really a serious loss, is recorded in Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. x., cap. x., p. 281.

Hispaniola, and the dogs proved such serviceable allies to their masters, that their use in war soon became general and even led to the coining of a new word, *aperrear*, to cast to the dogs.[1]

Ponce, having "pacified" the island, as the usual process of indiscriminate slaughter and enslavement was euphoniously called,[2] was not destined to remain long in command, for the king, perceiving the injustice done Diego Columbus by appointments made in contravention of his rights, removed Ponce from his office, and restored it to Juan Cerón and Miguél Diaz,[3] but gave particular instructions that his property should be protected, as it was through no unworthiness on his part that the restitution was made, and Don Diego Columbus was especially directed to treat him well.[4] Again Ponce, who had brought his family with him to Puerto Rico, found himself out of employment, but well provided with means, and with a still undaunted resolution to increase his possessions and extend his estate.[5]

Ponce had heard of an island called Bimini, lying to the north of Hispaniola, in which there was reputed to be a spring of such marvellous virtue that all who drank of its waters were restored to youth and vigour. Reports were abroad of natives who had been actually restored or had been witnesses of such wondrous transformations.[6] To these stories even so important a per-

[1] Oviedo, vol. i., p. 547; vol. iv., p. 593, see under "Aperrear."

[2] In the ordinances framed in 1573 by Philip II., the term "pacification" was ordered to be substituted for that of "conquest," *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 207. And see *Recopilacion*, lib. iv., tit. i., ley vi., for its re-enactment by Philip IV. in 1621 and Charles II.

[3] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. viii., cap. xii., p. 223.

[4] *Ibid.*, lib. ix., cap. v., p. 237.

[5] *Ibid.*, lib. ix., cap. x., p. 246; Oviedo, vol. i., pp. 468, 482.

[6] Peter Martyr, *The Historie of the West Indies*, dec. 7, cap. vii., published in Latin by Mr. Hakluyt, and translated into English by Mr. Lok, Gent., London, 1597.

sonage as the president of the senate of Hispaniola lent a somewhat hesitating belief. It was also said that certain Cuban Indians, not long before the Spanish discovery, had passed over to a country, supposed to be Florida, in search of a river having the same properties, where they had built a town that was still in existence,—a report which "prevailed with all the princes and caciques in those parts," writes Herrera,[1] "so that there was not a river, or brook, nor scarce a lake or puddle in all Florida, but what they bathed themselves in, and there are some that still persist in it." More than fifty years later, Fontanedo tells of his own unsuccessful endeavours to bathe in the regenerating though unconsecrated waters of Florida.[2] Here, then, was an opportunity for the scarred and battered warrior, fountains that would infuse young blood into his veins, gold that could be added to his already well-filled coffers, and lands peopled with willing subjects and obedient slaves.

So Ponce, employing what influence he had at Court, obtained of Charles V., who appears to have regarded him with much favour, a capitulation or patent,[3] dated the 23d of February, 1512, authorising him to discover and people the island of Bimini,[4] granting him the criminal and civil jurisdiction over the island for all his life, and bestowing upon him the title of Adelantado, a title derived from the verb *adelantar*, which signifies to advance, to keep on, to surpass. The grant provided that Ponce should equip the fleet at his own cost, with vessels taken in Castile or Hispaniola, and forbade him from trespassing upon any lands which might belong to

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[1] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. ix., cap. xii., p. 249 (Stevens's trans., vol. ii., p. 32); Oviedo, vol. i., p. 482; *La Florida del Inca*, lib. i., cap, ii., p. 3; Brinton, *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 99.

[2] Fontanedo, "Mémoire," in *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, p. 17.

[3] Appendix F, this volume, "Capitulacion con Juan Ponce."

[4] Called Beniny in the capitulation.

"the most Serene King of Portugal, our very dear and much-loved son." But it carefully provided that the Indians which might be found on the island should be allotted in repartimientos among the adventurers, and that the discoverers should first of all be amply provided with slaves, and should derive whatever advantage might be secured thereby. This partitioning of the Indians was to be made only by the individual or individuals named by the king, and in no other way. After releasing certain royal rights respecting the precious metals that might be found, and fixing a limit of three years running from the date of reception of the patent within which time the expedition should be made, it wisely provided that a relation of the condition of the island should be sent the king subsequent to its discovery, and concluded with directions to "Don Diego Columbus, our Admiral and Governor in Hispaniola," to lend aid and assistance to the undertaking.

The patent very strikingly illustrates by the entire absence of any such requirement, how empty a formula the legal condition of Christianising the Indian had become. While we may commend this absence of cant, it becomes a matter of painful surprise that it was countersigned by no less a personage than the Bishop of Palencia. What irony there is in the thought that the country whose name was given in commemoration of the resurrection of the Saviour of mankind should have been discovered and named under such a charter.

Fortified with this royal grant, Ponce returned to Puerto Rico and purchased there a caravel in which to proceed to Spain, where it was his intention to prepare for the conquest of Bimini. But his services were still required to control the Indians, and as he could not be spared, the king sent orders to the Council of the Indies, directing that the expedition to Bimini should be deferred, and giving Ponce command of the fort in Puerto

Rico.[1] The following year, Ponce proceeded to fit out three ships with his own means,[2] storing them well with men and provisions, while adhering so strictly to the spirit of his grant that no mention is found of monks or priests among his following for the purpose of converting the heathen, or even to administer to the ghostly comfort of himself and his men in case of necessity.

On Tuesday, the 3d of March, 1513,[3] Ponce set sail from the port of San German in Puerto Rico, taking with him Anton de Alaminos, a native of Palos, as pilot,[4] and made for Aguada to steer his course from there. The following night he stood away north-west by north and continued for eleven days sailing among the Lucayos, as the Bahamas were then called, until on the fourteenth of the same month he reached Guanahani, in lat. 25° 40′, the San Salvador of Columbus's first landing, where he refitted a ship to cross the bay to the windward of the islands. From thence he steered north-west, and on Easter Sunday, the Spanish *Pasqua de Flores*, the 27th of March, he saw an island and passed it by. The three following days he held on in the same direction, when, the weather proving foul, he changed his course to west-north-west until Saturday, the 2d of April, when, having reached a depth of nine fathoms at a distance of a league from land in lat. 38° 8′, for the water had grown shoal, he ran along the coast in search of a harbour and anchored at night in eight fathoms of water.[1]

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[1] J. G. Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, pp. 100 *et seq.*, New York, 1886; and "Ancient Florida," in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., pp. 231 *et seq.*

[2] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. ix., caps. x. and xi., pp. 246–249.

[3] *La Florida del Inca*, lib. i., cap. ii., p. 3, gives the date as 1513. Dr. Shea, in his two works already cited, appears to me to have conclusively proved this to be the date of the departure of the expedition; see also *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 281, note 1.

[4] From the context of the account as given by Herrera it appears that Alaminos accompanied Ponce, though in what capacity is not stated. See vol. i., dec. 1, lib. ix., cap. x., p. 249. Dr. Shea cites *Historia Verdadera*, por el Capitan Bernal Diaz del Castillo, tomo. i., cap. vi., p. 31 (Paris, 1837), as evidence of the same, but the statement there made is very confused and appears to me to refer to the second voyage; see the matter discussed in Appendix G, this volume, "The Bay of Ponce de Leon.

Beyond the shallowing green waters the waves rolled their white crests of foam up the long, hard, shell-paved beaches which formed a silver bar between the sea and the dense green verdure of the islands along which he was coasting. A thick forest of grey cypress, tulip, ash, and magnolia, with gnarled live-oak that reminded the strangers of the olive groves of their native land, clad the low sand-dunes and marshes of the islands and cut the horizon with its dark canopy, above which floated the plumes of towering palm groves and the light tufts of the broom-pine. Between the islands the eye rested upon the glistening surface of sluggish lagoons, with brilliant borders of rush and sedge extending up to the very edge of the mysterious forest on the mainland.

It was the season of flowers. The perfumed breath of the white lily was wafted out to them from its humid haunts in the shady nooks of the islands; the fragrance of blooming orange groves, of sweet bays, of yellow jasmin, and of the sweet azalea filled the air. Upon the dark foliage, like flights of gaudy butterflies, lay spread masses of blue, crimson, and white, the blue flowers and coral berries of the *lycium salsum*, the andromeda, and the azalea; along the inner shore, between the water's edge and the forest, the royal palmetto, crested with pyramids of silver-white blossom, thrust forth its sword-shaped leaves. Loons and Spanish curlews whirled overhead; in the woods strutted the wild turkey, saluting the dawn with noisy call from his perch on the lofty cypress or the magnolia, and many-hued humming-birds fluttered from flower to flower.[2]

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[1] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. ix., cap. x., p. 247.

[2] This description is compiled from Bartram's account of the flora of Florida as he saw it in the month of March, 1774 (*Travels*, pp. 59–74. 83).

On some day between the 2d and 8th of April Ponce de Leon went ashore to get an interpreter and take possession.[1] Impressed with its beauty and pleasant groves, and believing it to be an island, he named the land Florida, because he had discovered it at Eastertide,—the Easter of Flowers. The Lucayos called it Cancio. The spot where he anchored and landed, says Dr. Shea, was somewhere in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the St. John's River.

Of the attendant ceremony there is no record. There could have been no saying of mass, for no priest was with the party. There was no proclamation to the natives, calling upon them to render obedience to the Spanish sovereign and to embrace the only true faith, for, unlike his later charter, the capitulation under which Ponce was sailing did not require it. Neither cross nor stone with the royal arms graven upon it, that Herrera mentions, was planted, although both were erected at later dates. Perhaps, on landing, clad in his battered armour, Ponce offered the simple prayer said to have been used by Columbus,[2] and from whose lips he may have learned it. And then, grasping in his left hand the unfurled

[1] Dr. Shea says he took possession on April 8th, *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 233; Fairbanks, *Hist. of Florida*, p. 16, thinks he first landed at a point probably a short distance northerly of St. Augustine; J. L. Williams, *The Territory of Florida*, p. 152 (New York, 1837), says Ponce landed at Punta Tanchi, now Cape Sable, where he lost many of his people. In this he confuses the first and second voyages. W. W. Dewhurst, *The History of St. Augustine, Florida* (New York, 1881), accepts the same landing-place.

[2] "Domine Deus æterne et omnipotens, sacro tuo verbo cœlum, et terram, et mare creasti; benedicatur et glorificetur nomen tuum, laudetur tua majestas, quæ dignita est per humilem servum tuum, ut ejus sacrum nomen agnoscatur, et prædicetur in hac altera mundi parte." The prayer is given in H. H. Bancroft's *Central America*, vol. i., p. 371, together with an account of the various ceremonies observed by the Spanish discoverers in South America on taking possession. See, also, for a formal taking of possession, "Rel. de Pedro Sarmiento," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. v., p. 370, which is exceedingly graphic.

banner of Castile and Leon, and with drawn sword in his right, he planted the royal standard upon the soil and proclaimed in a loud voice to the unheeding oaks and palms and to the attendant crews of his caravels the seizure of the land in the name of his king, while he called upon all present to bear witness to his act. Some such ceremony was used by other Spanish discoverers only five or six years later, for a formal act of some description was observed from the outset by discoverers of every nationality upon first taking possession of territory in the New World.

On Friday, the eighth, Ponce made sail still in the same direction, but on Saturday he changed his course to south by east until the twentieth, when he encountered the first indications of inhabitants, a number of Indian huts. The following day the three ships, keeping together along the coast, met with so strong a current that in spite of the favourable wind it drove them back. This current was the powerful and swift-flowing Gulf Stream abreast the Florida coast. The two ships nearest land dropped their anchors, but its force was so great that it strained the cables. The third ship, a brigantine, the one farthest out, was carried out to sea, so that it was lost to sight, although the day was bright and the weather fair. The Indians now made signs to Ponce to come ashore, which he did, and he was immediately set upon by the natives, who endeavoured to possess themselves of one of the boats and its contents. In the affray which ensued two of his men were wounded by the natives' darts and arrows tipped with sharp bones, while the Indians themselves suffered but little damage. Night parting them, Ponce with some difficulty collected his men and sailed from there to a river, where he secured wood and water, and waited for the brigantine. Here sixty Indians made an attack upon them, one of whom was taken and kept by Ponce to give information about the coast and country, and to learn Spanish in order to serve as interpreter. Ponce named the river De la Cruz, and set up a stone cross with an inscription.

Sunday, the 8th of May, he doubled Cape Canaveral,[1] in lat. 28° 15′, which he named Cabo de las Corrientes, because of the force of the current, and cast anchor near an Indian town called Abaióa. Ponce then sailed on to the southward, watering at one of two islands, which he named Santa Marta. Friday, the thirteenth, Saturday, and Whitsunday, the fifteenth, he continued his course, coasting along a ridge of islands, the Florida Reefs, which he named Los Martires, or The Martyrs, "because the high rocks looked at a distance like men who are suffering," says Herrera.

From this point the course followed by Ponce is not as easily determined as that along the eastern coast. Having coasted among the Florida Keys for a considerable distance out into the Gulf, perhaps to their south-western extremity, Ponce seems to have retraced his course until he struck the southern end of the peninsula, which he rounded and followed up the western shore, as far, some think, as Pensacola Bay.[2] Returning southward on the 23d of May, the following day he ran along the shore and came to some small islands lying off the coast, on one of which he again took in water and wood and careened one of his caravels, the *San Christoval*. Here the Spaniards remained until the 3d of June, and although signalled to by the Indians to land, they kept aboard their ships, unwilling to go ashore, having doubtless had sufficient taste of native darts and arrows in the two preceding encounters. Nothing daunted, the natives came out in canoes to visit the Christians, and on Ponce's attempting to change his anchorage, they thought the Spaniards were about to leave, and laid hold of the cable to draw the ship away. Here ensued another struggle, in which the Spaniards went ashore in the long-boat, captured four women, and broke up two old canoes. At other times, "when there was no falling out, as finding no opportunity," they traded a little for gold and skins.

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[1] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, etc., vol. iii., pp. 50–53, identifies the cape with Canaveral, in which he follows Herrera.

[2] The authority for Ponce's discovery to the north on the Florida west coast seems to rest upon a map attached to a cédula granted Garay in 1521 (see p. 151 in this volume). Above what may be Appalachee Bay, on the map, is a legend which reads, "Hasta aqui descubrio Juan Ponce."

But the Indians had already discovered the greed for gold that possessed the adventurers. On Friday, the 4th of June, while waiting for a wind to go in search of the cacique Carlos, whose subjects occupied the narrow strip of land on the south-western end of the peninsula, near whose territory Ponce seems to have anchored,[1] and who, as Ponce understood from the Indians aboard his vessel, was possessed of gold, there came to the ships a canoe with an Indian who understood Spanish. They supposed him to be a native of Hispaniola, or of one of the islands which the Spaniards had settled, and he asked them to remain, as the cacique would send gold to barter. The adventurers readily fell into the trap so cleverly baited for them, and waited. Soon there appeared twenty canoes, some of them being fastened together in pairs. On drawing near, the flotilla divided, one part making for the ships and engaging them in battle. Under cover of this attack, the other division made for the anchors, and, unable to weigh them, attempted to cut the cables. A long-boat was sent out from the ships, which put the Indians to flight, killing some and capturing four prisoners. Two of these Ponce released and sent to the cacique with a message that, though he had killed a Spaniard, he would make peace with him.

The following day, Saturday, the boat was sent out to sound the harbour. Here the crew was met by some Indians who said that the cacique would come next day to trade. Again the Spaniards allowed themselves to be deceived. As it subsequently appeared, the message was but a subterfuge to gain time in order to gather men and canoes, "for at eleven of the clock, eighty canoes well equipped attacked the nearest ship and fought from morning till night, without, however, doing the Spaniards any harm;"[1] for the Indians, fearing the cross-bows and great guns, kept at such a distance that their arrows fell short. At last the Indians drew off, and the Spaniards, having passed nine days in that neighbourhood, resolved on Monday, the fourteenth, to return to Hispaniola and Puerto Rico.

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[1] Appendix G, "The Bay of Ponce de Leon."

On his way back, Ponce evidently retraced part of his former course through the Florida Keys. On the twenty-first, having captured in a short time during the night one hundred and seventy tortoises upon some small islands, he named the islands the Tortugas. June 28th and 29th, he anchored off Cuba, but without recognising it. July 25th, he saw the island of Bahama, where he found a pilot, one Diego Miruelo, with a boat from Hispaniola, bound on what may have been an unlicensed expedition. Ranging back and forth until the 23d of September, Ponce refitted his ships, and sent one of them under the command of Ortubia, with Anton de Alaminos as pilot, in search of the island of Bimini, while he himself returned to Puerto Rico, where he arrived September 21, 1513,[2] and where he was subsequently joined by Ortubia with the caravel, who had discovered the island in search of which he had been sent, but not the wonderful rejuvenating spring reputed to be in it.

Thus ended the first attempt of the Spaniards to reconnoitre and possess the coasts of North America. It was but the precursor of many another unsuccessful venture of hardy hidalgos and resolute friars upon the same shores, all of them destined to experience that "the inhabitants of Terra Florida have sharp nayles,"[1] as the gossipy correspondent of Pope Julius II. so graphically reported; ventures to be tardily crowned with a few stagnant settlements, which were ultimately to fall a prey to the all-devouring Anglo-Saxon. Ponce had gotten neither gold nor youth, but only hard knocks. The voyage was, however, of advantage in discovering the Bahama Channel, through which afterwards was made the usual passage from Havana to Spain.

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[1] Herrera, Stevens's trans., vol. ii., p. 36.

[2] Shea, in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 233.

In considering this first expedition of Ponce de Leon, one cannot but be impressed by the courage and determination of these naked Floridians, who, beholding the strange sight of great vessels, manned by an unknown race, clad in armour and steel corselets, defended by crossbows far outstripping the reach of their puny bows and arrows, and by great guns belching forth flame and death, did not hesitate to brave them at every point, and to master whatever superstitious fears the unwonted sight may have aroused. Undaunted by the disproportionate slaughter of their own men which the mysterious weapons wrought, they returned again and again to the attack, imposing upon the greedy simplicity of the enemy to draw him into their toils, and actually beating him off; for how can we otherwise account for the failure of the expedition in making some attempt to penetrate into the interior of the country in search of the treasure believed to lie hidden there—renewed youth and gold?

This determined resistance and the absence of superstitious fear on the part of the natives seem to indicate some previous acquaintance with the Spaniard. Perhaps from some obscure adventurer in search of slaves, perhaps from strange tales brought from the distant islands by fugitive slaves, such as the cacique's messenger, who understood Spanish, may have been, they had learned somewhat of the treatment they were to expect at the hands of such conquerors; neither did they appear to labour under the delusion of the white man's invulnerability and immortality as did the simple and inoffensive inhabitants of Hispaniola and Puerto Rico at his first coming.

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[1] Peter Martyr, dec. vii., cap. vii., Lok's trans.

CHAPTER II

MORE VENTURES ALONG THE COAST—PONCE DE LEON'S SECOND PATENT—AYLLON AND CHICORA—THE SECOND EXPEDITION AND DEATH OF PONCE DE LEON—FAILURE OF AYLLON'S CAROLINA COLONY

STERILE as was the result of his expedition in the acquisition of gold and slaves, Ponce none the less determined to secure possession of his new discovery. Proceeding at once to Spain, he obtained, through the influence of his old friend Pedro Nuñez de Guzman, a second patent, dated September 27, 1514, much more explicit than the first, confirming his title.

The patent[1] empowered Ponce to settle "the Island of Bimini and the Island of Florida," which he had discovered; but as he was first required to reduce the Caribs before proceeding to make his settlement, the grant ran for three years from the date of embarkation, and he was further allowed to employ in the attempt at colonisation the vessels and men he led against the Caribs, as soon as there should be no further need of his presence. The patent authorised him to build dwelling-houses and towns in the island, "such as are built in these kingdoms," and even specified in part the details of their construc-

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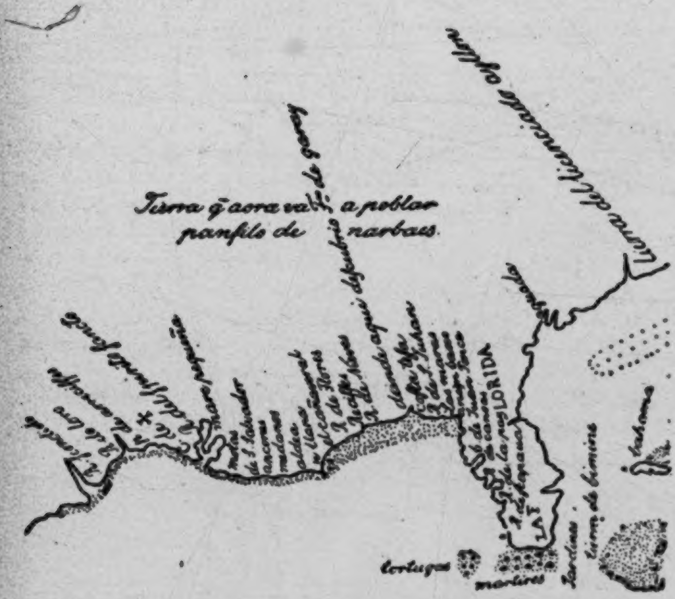
[1] *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxii., p. 33, in which the date of the capitulation, September 26, 1512, is evidently a misprint. That given in the text is the date found in Dr. Shea's "Ancient Florida," in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 234, and in *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 102, by the same author.


Tierra q̄ aora va a poblar panfilo de narbaes
Tierra del licenciado ayllon
LA FLORIDA
tortugas
martires
Jardines
tierra de bimini
bahama
R. de S. Salvador
R. de flores

SECTION OF HERNANDO COLON'S MAP OF AMERICA, 1527.
NO. 28 OF THE KOHL COLLECTION.

tion. It also renewed the command that no one should seek for slaves within his islands without his consent, and provided, as did the first, for the release, during a given period, of the royal duties.

And now appeared for the first time the provision that Ponce

> "should require of the caciques and Indians in said islands, in the best manner that they could be made to understand what was said to them, in conformity with a requisition which had been drawn up by many learned men . . . that they should come to the knowledge of our Catholic Faith, to obey and serve as they are bounden, and you shall have written down by two or three scriveners if they obey, and before as many witnesses and trustworthy persons as shall be there, that it may serve as our justification, . . . and if after the above procedure they seek not to obey the contents of said requisition, in such case you may make war upon them and enslave them, but if they obey, you shall treat them as best you can, and shall seek in every possible way that they be converted to our Holy Catholic Faith; and if after having once rendered obedience to said requisition, they shall rebel, I command that you shall again cause them to comply with the said requisition before making war upon them or doing them any harm or damage."

Having obtained his new charter, Ponce set sail in 1515 to pacify the Caribs with a fleet of three vessels[1] which he had equipped at Seville. Reaching the island of Guadaloupe, Ponce sent some of his men ashore for wood and water, and with them some washerwomen to wash the linen; but the Caribs, from their ambush in the woods, attacked the Spaniards, captured the women, and slew with their poisoned arrows most of the men who had gone ashore.[2]

[1] Inquiry into Ponce's expenses in the Carib war, dated April 6, 1516; *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xi., p. 283.

[2] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 2., lib. i., cap. viii., p. 12; Gomara, liv. ii., p. 57, Fumée's trans.; Peter Martyr, dec. iii., cap. x., Lok's trans.; Barcia, *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 2, Año MDXV.

While Ponce was thus prosecuting his warfare against the Caribs, preparatory to his second and final attempt to conquer and settle his new possessions, the report of his discovery appears to have aroused but little enthusiasm in others to follow in his footsteps. The land of gold lay to the south in Yucatan and Mexico, in which direction the only successful efforts were to be made for some years to come. Occasionally a hardy pilot or adventurous soldier visited the Florida shores, only to meet with determined resistance at the hands of the natives, and to be repulsed as Ponce de Leon had been.

Three years after Ponce's return from Florida (1516), one Diego Miruelo, a pilot, perhaps the selfsame Diego Miruelo whom Ponce de Leon had encountered on his return voyage, reached its coast in a single vessel which sailed from Cuba; he bartered with the Indians, obtaining gold in return for his toys of iron and glass, but it proved of little avail to him, for he failed to note the latitude of the places he had visited.[1]

In February of the following year, 1517, Francisco Hernandez de Córdova sailed from Havana with three ships, and one hundred and ten men, among whom were some noblemen who had come to Cuba but a few months before, and a priest to say mass for them and administer the sacraments. Diego Velasquez, at that time governor of Cuba, had sold the adventurers one of the ships on the condition that it should be paid for in slaves, which were to be secured by making war upon the Indians in the Lucayan Islands. But there were men of a different stamp among the crew. "As soon as we soldiers saw that the thing Diego Velasquez asked was not just," says Bernal Diaz, one of the company, destined four years later to become a member of the immortal band that conquered Mexico under Cortés, "we answered him that neither God nor the king had commanded that thing which he said: that we should makes slaves of freemen." For which reason the expedition was changed to one of discovery.[1]

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[1] *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 2, Año MDXVI; *La Florida del Inca*, lib. i., cap. ii., p. 3.

Sailing westward they encountered a storm, and after twenty-one days' navigation Córdova came upon the Peninsula of Yucatan. Having lost nearly one half of his people in an encounter with the natives, Córdova determined to return to Cuba. But misfortune pursued him, and on his return voyage he again encountered storms which drove his vessels from their course. The pilots, on consultation, finding themselves but seventy leagues distant from Florida, sailed the ships in that direction and ran into a bay, which Anton de Alaminos, one of the pilots, recognised as a locality he had previously visited with Ponce de Leon, and which was probably not far from Charlotte Harbour, if not that harbour itself.[2] While digging for water, Córdova was himself set upon by the Indians; Alaminos was wounded in the throat, and there was a hard struggle to recover the boats. The following day he sailed by the Martyr Islands, and returned to Havana. From thence he sent an account of his discoveries to the governor, Diego Velasquez, and died ten days later of wounds received during the expedition.

Two years after the expedition of Córdova (1519), Francisco de Garay, like Ponce a companion of Columbus on his second voyage, and governor of Jamaica under Diego Columbus, impressed by the reports of the discovery of Yucatan and of its great wealth, determined to conquer a province for himself. Having first obtained

[1] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdadera*, tomo i., cap. i., p. 11, and cap. vi., p. 31 (Paris, 1837); Herrera, vol. i., dec. 2., lib. i., cap. xvii., p. 47, and cap. xviii., p. 49; Oviedo, vol. ii., p. 139; Gomara, liv. ii., chap. lii., pp. 68 *et seq.* Fumée's trans.; *Ensayo Cronologico*, Año MDXVII, fol. 3; Peter Martyr, dec. iv., caps. i. and ii.

[2] Appendix G, this volume, "The Bay of Ponce de Leon."

permission of the priors of the Order of St. Jerome, at that time governors of the Indies under the king, Garay fitted out four caravels, well provisioned and manned, which, at the suggestion of the pilot, Alaminos, he sent to the Florida coast with Alonzo Alvarez de Pineda in command, to search for a strait or passage, as appears from the patent subsequently granted him for his discoveries and which contains the principal details of his expedition.[1]

Pineda appears to have come upon the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico, precisely where, cannot now be determined, and, having reconnoitred it, sailed south and east, coasting the western shore of Florida until he reached its southern extremity, which he attempted to double, but was prevented by contrary winds and the powerful current. Retracing his course, he followed the coast back, making note of rivers and bays, and landing at various points along the coast and taking possession in the king's name and establishing landmarks showing the limits of his discovery until he reached the province of Panuco in the region of Tampico, in Mexico,[2] where he encountered Cortés and his followers, having coasted, in all, three hundred leagues. Turning back again from Panuco, he reached the mouth of a great river, supposed to be the Mississippi, where he found a large town, and on both sides of its banks, for a distance of six leagues up its course, some forty native villages. Here he remained forty days, careening his ships, and finding the natives well disposed and tractable. He reported that the country was healthful and well provisioned; many of the rivers contained gold, and the natives wore ornaments of gold in their noses and ears and over other parts of the body; there was a race of giants from ten to eleven palms in height and a race of pigmies only five or six palms high.

Not so south [illegible]

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[1] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 2., lib. vi., cap. i., pp. 135–136; *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. ii., pp. 558–567; Navarrete, *Coleccion*, etc., vol. iii., pp. 147–153.

[2] Oviedo, vol. ii., p. 142; Velasco, *Geografia*, p. 198.

Pineda spent eight or nine months following the coast, finding, of course, no strait; but he determined conclusively that Florida was a part of the mainland, and made a chart of the coast, which on his return Garay forwarded to the king with a request for a grant to him of his newly discovered Province of Amichel.[1] In 1521 the grant was made, and the *veedor*, or inspector, Cristobal de Tarpia, appointed to determine the confines of his territory between that of Ponce de Leon to the east and of Diego Velasquez to the south, where Cortés was prosecuting his marvellous conquest.

There is still preserved in the Royal Archives of the Indies, and printed in the Navarrete *Coleccion*,[2] a chart attached to the Garay grant, which is apparently the original or a copy of the chart which he sent to the king after his first expedition. Along the Gulf coast several localities are indicated, by which it appears that Juan Ponce de Leon discovered as far as Appalachee Bay, possibly a little beyond; then follows an unclaimed territory, and from some point in the vicinity of Pensacola Bay, perhaps, extends the dominion of Garay, including the Gulf shore of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas down to Cape Roxo in Mexico.[3] If the marks and legends upon the map indicate the result of De

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[1] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, etc., vol. iii., pp. 147 *et seq.*; Peter Martyr, dec. v., chap. i., p. 176, Lok's trans.; *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., pp. 218, 285.

[2] Navarrete, vol. iii., pp. 147 *et seq.*, in which the chart is given with the legends, as also in Buckingham Smith's *Cabeca de Vaca*, 1851 edition. It is also given by Winsor (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii.), above cited, but without the legends in place, who thinks it embodies the results of Pineda's expedition to the northern shores of the Gulf in 1519. Brinton (*Floridian Peninsula*, p. 82), thinks it was drawn up under the supervision of Antonio de Alaminos, Ponce's pilot on his first voyage. The chart is not dated. On the Hernando Colon map of 1527, No. 38 of the Kohl Collection, at the head of the first gulf west of the peninsula of Florida appears the legend, "deinde aqui descubrio Fco de garay."

[3] Shea, in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 237.

Tarpia's decision, or even the rough guess of Garay, it represents the first Spanish map of the United States coast to define the limits of a discoverer's claim.

The grant itself presents a remarkable advance over previous documents of its kind. It shows an earnest, sincere, and sensible effort to put an end to the atrocities practised by these pioneers of civilisation upon the natives, and breathes a spirit of Christian wisdom and humanity, making it worthy of attention not only because of its generous spirit, but also because of the side lights cast by it upon the habits of the conquerors. May we not see in it the influence upon the young emperor of that valorous champion of the Indians' rights, the Bishop of Chiapas, Las Casas, who had left Spain in the latter part of the preceding year (November, 1520) to make his fruitless attempt to colonise the "Pearl Coast"?

In the grant, the king directs that in case of inland transportation of merchandise, a river shall be sought out for ships, to avoid the necessity of its carriage upon men's backs, which neither Spaniard nor native could endure. He prohibits dice, cards, and other forbidden games, because of the mutual injuries which always arise therefrom, scandals, enmities, oaths, and blasphemies, and because it corrupts the natives and sets them an evil example. He forbids the taking away from the natives of their women and children, and living with the Indian women, which, he adds, has been one of the chief causes of the evils in Hispaniola. He directs that no war shall be made upon the Indians unless they themselves become the aggressors, and shrewdly inculcates the need of a careful watch, as some of the Spaniards would derive a great advantage from a state of war, referring, no doubt, to the enslavement of the natives, which in case of war became legal.

He forbids the allotment of natives in repartimientos, because out of it has sprung all the evil; and, in enforcing the necessity of their kindly treatment, adds: "For by such means they will the sooner be converted, and come to the knowledge of God and of our Holy Catholic Faith, which is my chief desire, and more is attained by the conversion of a hundred in this wise than of a hundred thousand by other means." But, alas! a purpose, however wise, can produce but indifferent results if its execution is committed to impotent or corrupt agents.

Garay, in haste to occupy his new territory, did not wait for the royal grant. In 1520, while the matter was still pending, Diego de Carmago was sent to settle Panuco, and on his failure Garay himself set sail, June 26, 1523, from Jamaica, with Grijalva, the discoverer of Yucatan, as his lieutenant, to colonise his province of Amichel.[1] Reaching the Rio de las Palmas in the province[2] of Mexico, now called Tamaulipas, on St. James Day, July 25th of the same year, he sent an exploring party up the river; it returned in four days, bringing an unfavourable report. Garay then proceeded along the shore in the direction of Panuco, while Grijalva followed with the ships; but his forces melted away under the hardships of the journey, and still further on reaching Vera Cruz, through desertions instigated by the wily Cortés, into whose hands Garay himself fell at last, and died shortly thereafter at the City of Mexico.

There was living in Hispaniola a certain Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, of Toledo, who had come there with Ovando,

[1] Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 3, lib. v., cap. v., p. 157. Barcia, *Ensayo*, fol. 9, Año MDXXVII., says Garay's pilot was Diego Miruelo, nephew of the Miruelo who died on the Ayllon expedition.

[2] Rio de las Palmas, on the western shore of the Gulf of Mexico, on modern charts in latitude 23° 48′ north. Oviedo, vol. ii., p. 142, says, on the authority of Chaves, that from the Rio de las Palmas to where the Tropic of Cancer crosses the Rio Hermoso are twenty leagues, and thence to Vera Cruz, seventy leagues; but see the note in Buckingham Smith's *Cabeca de Vaca*, p. 17, ed. 1871. Velasco, *Geografia*, p. 182, places the Rio de las Palmas in lat. 26° 30°, and the Rio Hermoso four or five leagues north of the Rio Panuco.

from whom he received the appointment of alcalde major of La Concepcion and other towns. He had now become one of the auditors of the island, and was said to be a man of considerable intelligence, well educated, and virtuous[1] according to the standard of the times, though unlearned in the arts of war, "never having donned a corselet or borne a sword to earn his wages therewith," says Oviedo,[2] who was personally acquainted with him. He was very rich, having received from Ovando four hundred Indians in repartimientos in payment of his salary, as was at that time the custom. Stirred up, no doubt, by reports of kingdoms to be had for the mere asking, Ayllon associated himself with Diego Caballero, clerk of the audiencia of the island, secured a licence for his undertaking, and in 1520 dispatched a caravel from the port of La Plata,[3] having Francisco Gordillo as captain and Alonzo Fernandez Sotil as pilot, with directions to sail northward until the continent was reached.[4]

It so happened that shortly before the departure of Ayllon's caravel, Juan Ortiz de Matienzo, another auditor of the same island, had sent out a caravel under the command of Pedro de Quexos, in search of Caribs to sell as slaves, in virtue of the general licence of October 30, 1503. In this traffic the auditor's name did not openly appear. Having failed to secure the intended cargo, Quexos's caravel was returning home, when, in the neighbourhood of the island of Lucayoneque, it fell in with Ayllon's vessel, which apparently had been cruising about for several months on errands of which no account remains.[5] Here the two commanders exchanged advices, and Quexos finally decided to sail with Gordillo for the mainland, intending, as it subsequently appeared, to fill his empty hold with slaves.

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[1] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vi., cap. xvii., p. 171.

[2] Oviedo, vol. iii., lib. xxxvii., Prohemio, p. 623.

[3] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, etc., vol. iii., pp. 69–71.

[4] Shea, in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 238.

[5] If Ayllon's caravel sailed in December, 1520, nearly six months remain unaccounted for.

Sailing slowly northward for eight or nine days, or, as some report, driven by stress of weather,[1] in June of the year following Gordillo's departure (1521) the two caravels came upon the continent in latitude 33° 30′, according to Quexos's testimony, at the mouth of a considerable river, to which the name of St. John Baptist was given,[2] because of its discovery on the feast day of the saint. The Indians appear to have called the country Chicora, and it lay, perhaps, somewhere in the vicinity of Cape Fear. Twenty men were sent ashore in the boats to secure the good-will of the natives, the necessity of which Ayllon had impressed upon his commander, while the ships sought to enter the river.

The novel sight of the ships, which they took to be sea-monsters, awakened the curiosity of the natives, who flocked down to the shore to gaze at them, a curiosity shortly transformed into terror and flight when the hairy-faced and strangely dressed Spaniards approached; for they themselves were naked or clothed in skins, beardless, and with their long hair bound up about their heads.[3] The Spaniards, anxious to propitiate them, followed the fugitives, and finally succeeded in catching a man and a woman, laggards, perhaps, like Lot's wife, from their desire to have a last look at the prodigy. Like her, too, they became transformed; for the grim-visaged captors clothed them in doublet and hose like themselves and then sent them to recall their fleeing comrades. This kindly treatment restored confidence among the savages, and the chief of the country soon sent men with provisions to the ships.

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[1] Gomara, liv. v., chap. 7, p. 52, Fumée's trans.

[2] Also in the act of taking possession by Quexos, cited by Dr. Shea in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 239, note 1. The cédula of June 12, 1523 (Navarrete, *Coleccion*, etc., vol. iii., p. 153, and *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxii., p. 79), containing the capitulation with Ayllon, places the country in 35°, 36°, and 37° "norte-sur," and Dr. Shea very justly concludes (*ibid.*, p. 285, note 3), "as the documents of the first voyage name 33° 30′ and 35° as the landfall, conjecture is idle." The country is very vaguely indicated on the Hernando Colon map, No. 38, Kohl Collection, by a legend, "tierra del licenciado ayllon."

[3] Peter Martyr, dec. vii., ch. 2, p. 251, Lok's trans.

In the course of a few days, possession was taken of the country in the name of the king and the two associates, Quexos doing the same in the name of his employer on Sunday, June 30, 1521, and crosses were cut upon the trees to indicate the Spanish occupancy.[1] Obtaining a native guide, the Spaniards appear to have explored the interior to some extent and to have crossed the bay, entertained wherever they went with food and small gifts of skins, small pearls, and silver.

The Spaniards, having now acquainted themselves with the wealth and fertility of the land and its abundant waters, concluded to return to Santo Domingo without further exploration of the coast. In order not to sail away empty-handed, and in spite of Ayllon's charge to his captain, they invited aboard the caravels a number of the savages by whom they had been so hospitably entertained, shipped the anchors, and made for home with one hundred and fifty of their former hosts, intending to sell them into slavery. Nor were these the only victims. Crossing over to Hispaniola, the caravels came upon a Lucayan Indian who had cut down a tree, hollowed out the trunk to make a boat, provisioned it with corn, water, and calabashes, and, accompanied by his wife and a friend, ventured out on the waste of waters in his frail shell, preferring to brave the unknown terrors of the sea rather than endure servitude in Santo Domingo, from which he was escaping. The poor fellow was seized and carried back to port, and his bark with him as a curiosity.[2]

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[1] Shea, in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 238.

[2] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 2, lib. x., cap. vi., pp. 259 *et seq.*; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 4, Año MDXX.

Quexos seems to have imparted his own previous ill-luck to his companion slave-hunter. On the way back one of the caravels was lost, and many of the Indians, brought over in the other, on reaching land, shortly sickened and died of grief and hunger, preferring to eat dogs, asses, and even the dead beasts they found along the walls rather than the food which the Spaniards set before them.[1] On the return of the vessel to Santo Domingo, this unauthorised seizure of the Indians, which Ayllon himself had condemned, was brought before a commission presided over by Diego Columbus, which declared the surviving Indians free and ordered their return to their people. Meanwhile, they remained in the hands of Ayllon and Matienzo, says Dr. Shea,[2] who has unravelled the facts of this first voyage of Ayllon from manuscript records in Havana.

While Ayllon's lieutenant was kidnapping Indians in disregard of his employer's commands, Juan Ponce de Leon made his final attempt to establish a colony in Florida. After his unlucky experience with the Caribs at the island of Guadaloupe, Ponce withdrew to Puerto Rico, sending Cuñiga against the Caribs of the mainland.[3] He forwarded a statement of his expenses to the king,[4] and was again confirmed in his captaincy of the island.[5] Here he had prospered greatly, becoming so rich, says Oviedo,[6] that he could even assist others in their misfortunes; but, being a man of high purpose, adds the same authority, he was restless and unwilling to remain at the beck and call of others. Moreover, his domain had been trespassed upon, and the greater part

[1] Gomara, liv. ii., chap. 7, p. 52, Fumée's trans.

[2] *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 285.

[3] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 2, lib. i., cap. viii., p. 12; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 21, Año MDXV.

[4] *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xi., pp. 283, 293.

[5] By cédula of July 22, 1517, *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xi., p. 297.

[6] Oviedo, vol. iii., p. 621.

of the Indians upon the island of Bimini carried off to Hispaniola, in defiance of his grant, by captains of vessels cruising among the Lucayan Islands.[1]

Writing to Charles V., in a letter dated the 10th of February, 1521, he says:

> "Among my services I discovered at my own cost and charge, the Island of Florida and others in its district, . . . and now I return to that Island, if it please God's will, to settle it . . . I shall set out to pursue my voyage hence in five or six days."[2]

From this it appears that Ponce still supposed Florida to be an island, as we see it represented in the so-called Da Vinci map.[3] Writing on the same day to the Cardinal of Tortosa, he complained that he had expended all his substance in the king's service.

Following out the purpose stated in his letter, that same year Ponce embarked in two ships, with two hundred men and fifty horses, together with a variety of domestic animals and agricultural implements, and furnished his ships plentifully with powder, crossbows, and other arms. Monks and priests accompanied him for divine service and mission work; but misfortune was in his train. Landing upon the Florida coast, precisely where is not now known, but possibly in the vicinity of Charlotte Harbour, where on his former voyage he had heard of the gold of the Cacique Carlos,[4] he was furiously beset by the Indians while endeavouring to erect dwellings for his settlers. Ponce bravely led his men against them, was badly wounded by an arrow, and many of his followers were killed. Driven off again by the determined resistance of the natives, Ponce finally re-embarked with his people and returned to Cuba, losing on the way one of his vessels, which, with its armament, ultimately fell into the hands of Cortés.[1] He died of the wound he had received within a few days of his return.[2] His body was sent to Puerto Rico for burial.[3]

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[1] *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xi., p. 295.

[2] Dr. Shea's translation in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 234.

[3] Terra Florida appears as a square island on Da Vinci's map, the date of which is fixed approximately, 1512–1516–1519. See *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 124, for map and note, and p. 234 for additional note.

[4] See Appendix G in this volume, "The Bay of Ponce de Leon."

Commenting on the failure of the expedition, Oviedo observes: "The time was not yet come for the conversion of that land and province to our Holy Catholic Faith, since it was allowed that the devil should still possess those Indians with his deceits and the population of hell be swelled by their souls."[4]

The discoverer of Florida was a typical *conquistador;* he was active, enterprising, restless, experienced, and somewhat sceptical of common reports, if the negative evidence offered by his grants may be accepted,[5] and it is certainly remarkable that, in direct contradiction to the gossip of the time, which has survived to our day, and which ascribed his first expedition to a search for the fountain of perpetual youth, his patents and grants make no mention of it. He was powerfully befriended at Court, so long as his efforts merely emptied his own coffers. All speak of his great courage. Had the smiles of fortune attended him, as her questionable favours are termed, he might have founded an empire and earned the jealousy and ingratitude of his king. As it was, he died with his ambition disappointed, and left behind him a ruined fortune.[1] In the country which he discovered, private enterprise has immortalised his name in a great caravansary. His countrymen did better. Barcia relates that on his sepulchre was placed the following epitaph:

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[1] Bernal Dias, *Hist. Verdadera*, vol. iii., p. 254, note.

[2] Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 3, lib. i., cap. xiv., p. 24; Oviedo, vol. iii., pp. 622–623; Torquemada, *Monarquia Indiana*, tomo i., p. 561; *Ensayo Cronológico*, Año MDXXI, fol. 5; Garcilaso, in *La Florida del Inca*, lib. vi., cap. xxii., p. 266, says more than eighty of his company were killed.

[3] F. A. Ober, "Aborigines of the West Indies," *Scientific American* Supplement of November 10, 1894. It is still kept in Puerto Rico, Mr. Ober adds.

[4] "No era . . . el tiempo llegado de la conversion de aquella tierra é provinçia á nuestra santa fée católica, pues permite quel diabolo aun los tenga engañados é por suyos á aquellos indios, é que se aumente la poblaçion infernal con sus ánimas."—Oviedo, vol. iii., p. 622.

[5] The relation of the discovery forming the introduction to and containing the facts upon which the grant is based, the usual form followed in such documents, is, in the case of Ponce's charters quite devoid of the customary extraordinary tales and exaggerations. Against this may be set the common gossip of his search for the fountain of youth.

> "Mole sub hac fortis Requiescunt ossa LEONIS
> Qui Vicit factis Nomina magna suis."

The Latin lines may be thus roughly paraphrased:

> "Here rest the bones of a LION, mightier in deeds than in name."

Ponce left two children, Don Luis, to whom the emperor granted the adelantadoship which his father had held, but who seems to have lacked his father's perseverance, for he is not heard of again in any undertaking on our coast; and a daughter, Doña Isabel, who married an official of her father's island of Puerto Rico, the licentiate Antonio Gama.[2]

Ayllon having settled the matter of the surviving Indian slaves brought back by Gordillo and Quexos, proceeded to Spain, to "kiss the royal feet and hands,"[3] and to secure his discovery by a royal grant. He took with him as servant a converted native of the new country, who had been baptised with the name of Francisco Chicora, and who had also learned to speak Spanish with great facility. Francisco Chicora was of a lively imagination, and, anxious to return to his own people, regaled the licentiate with marvellous stories, to which Ayllon gave too willing a credence, for he believed in Francisco as in an evangelist, says Oviedo, who met Ayllon on his way to Court.[1] Here also Ayllon encountered another contemporary historian, Peter Martyr,[2] who assisted at the Council of the Indies. These two have preserved some of Ayllon's and Chicora's remarkable stories. The report ran that the natives were white and their king and queen giants, whose bones, while babies, had been softened with an ointment of strange herbs, then kneaded and stretched like wax by masters of the art, leaving the poor objects of their magic half dead, until after repeated manipulations they finally attained their great size; that there was a race of men with long, flexible tails,—like the tailed Englishmen of Kent, adds Barcia slyly,—which obliged them to pierce holes in the seats where they wished to sit down; that there were great treasures, with numerous fruitful islands and provinces, of which the royal grant mentions the names of nineteen.[3]

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[1] Gomara, liv. ii., chap. 10, p. 57, Fumée's trans.

[2] Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 3, lib. i., cap. xiv., p. 24; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 487; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 5, Año MDXXI.

[3] *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxxv., p. 241.

Charles V. readily acceded to Ayllon's request, bestowed upon him the habit of Santiago, and, June 12, 1523, granted a *cédula*[4] which conferred upon Ayllon and his son after him the usual titles of adelantado and governor. By it Ayllon was empowered to pursue his discovery and navigate the coast for a distance of eight hundred leagues in vessels furnished at his own cost. Should a strait be found, he was to follow it up, for the emperor was intent upon a passage to the Spice Islands, a belief it took nearly two centuries to prove illusive.

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[1] Oviedo, vol. iii., lib. xxxvii., Prohemio, p. 626.

[2] *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 6, Año MDXXI.

[3] Cédula of June 12, 1523, Navarrete *Coleccion*, etc., vol. iii., p. 153; Herrera, vol. i., dec. 2, lib. x., cap. vi., p. 260; Oviedo, vol. iii., lib. xxxvii., Prohemio, p. 624; Gomara, liv. ii., chap. 7, p. 52, Fumée's trans.; Peter Martyr, doc. vii., chap. iii., p. 255, Lok's trans.; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fols. 4, 5, Año MDXX.

[4] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, etc., vol. iii., p. 153; *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxii., p. 79.

He was required to start upon the expedition in the summer of the following year (1524), and was allowed three years from the day his fleet left Hispaniola in which to complete it. He was to provide each ship with a chaplain; he was also to take with him a doctor, a surgeon, and an apothecary with the necessary medicines for the physical well-being of his crew; and the emperor reserved the right to name his treasurer, accountant (*conteador*), and agent (*factor*), to accompany the fleet in their official capacities, and to supervise the administration of the province.

Special exclusive rights of fishery and lands were granted Ayllon, with reservation of the mines; there was the usual release of the royal revenues for a fixed time, excepting the tenths of gold, silver, pearls, and gems that might be found. Ayllon was encouraged to promote the agricultural development of his territory and was authorised to purchase prisoners of war held as slaves by the natives, to employ them on his farms and export them as he saw fit, without the payment of any duty whatever upon them; but repartimientos were expressly forbidden, except where the service should be voluntary or paid for as was customary among the king's vassals. The reason for the prohibition is one with which we have become sadly familiar,—the depopulation of the countries where this system of slavery had been practised, says the cédula.

With particular regard to the spiritual welfare of his subjects the emperor says:

> "And whereas our principal intent in the discovery of new lands is that the inhabitants and natives thereof, who are without the light or knowledge of faith, may be brought to understand the truths of our Holy Catholic Faith, that they may come to a knowledge thereof and become Christians and be saved, and this is the chief motive that you are to bear and hold in this affair, and to this end it is proper that religious

persons should accompany you, and by these presents I empower you to carry to the said land the religious whom you may judge necessary, and the vestments and other things needful for the observance of divine worship; and I command that whatever you shall thus expend in transporting the said religious, as well as in maintaining them and giving them what is needful, and in their support, and for the vestments and other articles required for the divine worship shall be paid entirely from the rents and profits which in any manner shall belong to us in the said land."[1]

Thus, with praiseworthy frugality, the expenses of the ecclesiastical outfit were to be paid out of the royal revenues derived from the new country, and the surplus, if any, applied to the churches and a Franciscan monastery, evidently to be founded there. From all of this it appears that the royal patron, whose missionary policy might be summarised in the maxim, "No revenue, no salvation," must have trusted to the zeal and devotion of the friars in those regions too poor to yield a return. In this expectation he was not disappointed, as will appear in a subsequent chapter.

Aylion, having secured his grant, returned to the West Indies with the intention of following up his undertaking, but for a time he experienced only annoying delays. First he was obliged to attend a *residencia*, a public and official investigation of the affairs of a retiring functionary,[2] made by the officers of justice of Puerto Rico.[3] Then Matienzo, having made no further effort to prosecute the discovery, had begun legal proceedings against him and had protested against the imperial grant, stating in effect that while he, Matienzo, was preparing another expedition, the pilot who had been for two years in his pay had gone over to Ayllon.[1] Then the fleet from Spain bringing the armament for Ayllon's vessels was delayed,[2] and means were wanting to complete the equipment. So Ayllon secured an extension of his charter for another year.[3]

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[1] Dr. Shea's translation in *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 105.

[2] Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, vol. i., p. 180, and Bandelier, *Southwestern Hist. Contributions*, p. 69, both give definitions of a *residencia*, of which the latter is the fullest.

[3] Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 3, lib. v., cap. iv., p. 157.

While awaiting the opportunity himself to go to his new acquisition, Ayllon dispatched two caravels to the mainland in the early part of 1525, under Pedro de Quexos, probably the very pilot of whose desertion Matienzo had complained. The coast was explored for a distance of two hundred and fifty leagues, possession was taken of the land in the king's name, and a return was made to Santo Domingo in July of the same year, says Dr. Shea. One or two Indians from each coast were brought back in order that they might be trained as interpreters. Quexos also brought some gold and silver and a few pearls.[4]

At last Ayllon was able himself to go and begin the planting of his colony. In the middle of July, 1526,[5] he sailed from the port of La Plata on the northern side of the island of Hispaniola with a fleet of six vessels and a large boat or tender. His company consisted of five hundred men and women, most of them gathered from the islands, whose white population was sensibly depleted by their departure, and he took with him eighty-nine horses in addition to the necessary outfit for the colony.

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[1] Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 3, lib. viii., cap. viii., p. 241; *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxxiv., p. 563. [2] *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxxv., p. 546.

[3] Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 3, lib. vi., cap. i., p. 176; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 7, Año MDXXII. Dr. Shea gives the date of the cédula March 23, 1524.

[4] Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 3, lib. viii., cap. viii., p. 241; *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., pp. 238 *et seq.*; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 8, Año MDXXIV, gives 1524 as the year.

[5] Oviedo, vol. iii., lib. xxxvii., cap. i., p. 627; Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 3, lib. viii., cap. viii., p. 241; Dr. Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 238) says in the month of June.

The pilot Quexos again accompanied him. Among the colonists were a number of negro slaves and three Dominican friars, one of them being Fr. Antonio Montesino, who was the first to preach so courageously in Santo Domingo against the enslavement of the natives, and who, with his little band of Dominican friars, endured therefore, like all reformers, rejection and persecution at the hands of his hearers.[1]

It is well to remember that if to Catholic Spain is due the first introduction of negro slaves into the territory of the United States,[2] to her is equally due the first introduction of that spirit of Christian protest against the enslavement of beings formed in the image of their Maker, the triumph of which protest, though sealed in blood, has been the glory of the nineteenth century.

Reaching the coast above the Floridian Peninsula, Ayllon landed at the mouth of a river in 33° 40′ in the neighbourhood of Cape Fear, which he named the Jordan, after the captain of one of his vessels.[3] On entering the river he lost one of his ships with all its provisions, but the crew was saved. Ayllon promptly set to work to replace the lost vessel, and built himself an open boat which could be covered over at need; it had a single mast and was so planned as to admit of its being propelled by oars as well as by sails,— such at least is the description of a *gabarra*, the term used by his historians who recount the incident.[4] It was, says Dr. Shea, the first instance of shipbuilding upon our coast.

Meanwhile, some of his captains explored the interior while others followed up the coast, searching, no doubt, for that phantasm of a strait. But none of the islands, rivers, or nineteen provinces were found; and the interpreters deserted, among them Francisco Chicora, who probably returned to his people to relate to grunting savages around the council-fire tales of the Spanish Court as marvellous to them as those he had recounted of his own native haunts to the grandees of Charles V.

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[1] Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, vol. i., p. 240.

[2] Dr. Shea in *Narr. and. Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 238; Rev. Charles A. Stakeley in *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. xxvi., p. 349.

[3] Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 3, lib. viii., cap. viii., p. 242; Dr. Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 238) thinks the river may be the Wateree.

[4] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, etc., vol. iii., p. 72.

On the return of the coasting party with news of a better country, Ayllon, dissatisfied with the locality where he was, and hampered with the loss of his interpreters, abandoned the place, and moved westwardly and south, apparently following the coast, for a distance of some forty or forty-five leagues, until he came upon a great river, called Gualdape, and which may have been the Pedee. The women and the sick were transported thither in boats while the remainder of the company made their way by land. Here was begun the settlement of San Miguel de Gualdape.[1] The country lay in 33°, and was flat and full of marshes; the river was large and well stocked with fish, but the entrance was shallow and passable only at high tide. In the few scattered native towns which the Spaniards found in that region the Indians dwelt in huts or in great communal houses, fifteen to twenty feet wide and over three hundred feet in length, constructed of double intersecting rows of tall pine trees, the top branches of which, united together and inter[illegible]n with rushes, formed a sufficient protection from the weather. As many as three hundred persons could live within one of them at a time. On the little islands were their dead-houses, built in part of stone cemented with a lime made from sea-shells; within these houses the bones of the children were kept separate from those of the adults. The natives were very good archers and carried bows made of chestnut and quivers of skin.

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[1] Oviedo, vol. iii., pp. 627 *et seq.*; Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 3, lib. viii., cap. viii., pp. 241–242; Navarrete, *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 72; *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 285; see Appendix H, in this volume, "Ayllon's Last Voyage."

The colony was fated not to prosper. With the approach of winter the cold became intense; many of the colonists sickened and died from lack of food, and although the river was full of fish, those who were still able to go about were so weak that they were without strength to catch them or even to assist one another. Ayllon also was among the sick, and on St. Luke's Day, October 18, 1526, he died, having named as governor his nephew, Johan Ramirez. As Ramirez was absent in the island of Puerto Rico, of which he was treasurer, the immediate command devolved upon Francisco Gomez.

After Ayllon's death, internal dissensions arose. A soldier named Gines Donçel, a native of Gibraltar, determined to secure the leadership for himself. Having won over to his plans Pedro de Baçan, a soldier of the same ilk, he began by working upon those colonists who were dissatisfied with their condition and wished for change. They soon gathered a party of malcontents, seized and imprisoned the lieutenant, Gomez, and the alcaldes, and proceeded to exercise authority with a high hand both over their comrades and the natives. Donçel and Baçan became angered at a remonstrance made by two gentlemen of the party of order, and determined to kill them both. Fortunately, however, their plans failed. One night some of the negro slaves rose and set fire to Donçel's house; in the tumult which ensued, Donçel and Baçan, who were lurking about to kill the two gentlemen who had won their enmity, were made prisoners, and the alcaldes and Gomez set at liberty. Baçan was promptly executed, and, the rest of his party being secured, it was finally determined to abandon the settlement and return to Santo Domingo.

Placing the body of Ayllon in the *gabarra* with the intention of carrying it back to his former home, the one hundred and fifty sickly and destitute survivors left for Hispaniola. But their sufferings were not yet at an end. The return must have occurred in a midwinter of great severity, for on board the caravel *Santa Catalina* seven men were frozen to death, and a poor fellow aboard the *Chorruca*, whose legs had been frozen, pulled the flesh entirely off the bone from the knee down, with the result that he died the same night. Neither did the body of Ayllon reach its destination, but was consigned by the foundering of the tender to " the sepulchre of the ocean-sea, where have been and shall be put other captains and governors," observes Oviedo,[1] to whom we are chiefly indebted for the details of the expedition.

Fourteen years later, while in the neighbourhood of Silverbluff on the Savannah, Biedma, who was royal factor in the De Soto expedition, learned from the Indians that scarcely any excursions had been made into the interior, the company having remained along the sea-coast until the death of Ayllon.[2] Ayllon's widow, Doña Ana de Becerra, and his son, Lucas Vasquez Ayllon, solicited for themselves the extension of the capitulation, the father having left his family in poverty.[3] According to Barcia, the son secured the extension, but failing in his attempt to organise an expedition he died of melancholia at Hispaniola.[4]

While Ayllon was preparing to promote the supremacy of Spain in the Carolinas, the Castilians and Portuguese assembled at Badajos to adjust the much-vexed question of the division of the world between their respective nations. A number of eminent cartographers and pilots met together, one of whom, Esteban Gomez, thought the difficulty would be solved by the discovery of a way to Cathay between the Spanish possessions of Florida and the Tierra Baccalaos, or Newfoundland, the ever-longed-for north-west passage.[1] Gomez, having obtained the necessary authority from the king, the appointment as royal pilot,[2] and permission to explore and trade for the term of one year,[3] set sail from the Spanish seaport of Corunna in the early part of 1525 with a single caravel. He crossed the Atlantic and ran along the coast of the northern continent from Nova Scotia[4] to Florida, searching in vain for the strait, making many discoveries, chiefly of interest to the map-makers, and probably exploring some of the larger bays and rivers. He captured and carried away a few Indians, touched at Santiago de Cuba on his way, and returned to Corunna after an absence of ten months.[5] It is still a matter of conjecture whether he coasted north or south.[6]

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[1] Oviedo, vol. iii., lib. xxxvii., cap. ii., p. 629.

[2] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 52.

[3] Navarrete, *Coleccion*, etc., vol. iii., p. 73.

[4] *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 9, Año MDXXV.

To this period belongs the mysterious Pompey Stone, discovered in Pompey township in Oneida County in the

[1] Gomara, liv. ii., chap. 5, p. 49b, Fumée's trans.

[2] Navarrete, *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 179, says: "Esteban Gomez, á quien por Real cédula fecha en Valladolid á 10 de febrero de 1525, se le nombró piloto de S.M. con el salario de 30 dmrs. al año."

[3] "Capitulacion que se tomó con Esteban Gomez, piloto, para el descubrimiento del Catayo Oriental"; dated at Valladolid, March 27, 1523, *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxii., p. 74.

[4] On the presence of the Portuguese in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton as early as 1521, see "A Lost Chapter in American History," by Rev. G. Patterson, in *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. xxv., p. 375.

[5] Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 3, lib. viii., cap. viii., p. 241; Peter Martyr, dec. vi., lib. x., and dec. viii., lib. x, Lok's trans.; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 9, año MDXXV; Navarrete, *Coleccion*, etc., vol. iii., p. 179; Gomara, liv. ii., chap. 5, p. 50, Fumée's trans., says he was but three months in making the journey. Gomez's discoveries are indicated on the Ribero map of 1529 made at the royal command. He was one of the Badajos experts. The map is given in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. iv., p. 413. See also the article by George Dexter, *ibid.*, pp. 1–11.

[6] Galvano (p. 167, Hak., Soc. edit.), Dr. Kohl (*Maine Hist. Soc.*, 2d ser., vol. i., p. 303), Dr. Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 241) and Justin Winsor (*ibid.*, vol. iv., pp. 24, 413) all think he sailed from north to south.

State of New York, in 1820, a small boulder, on which is inscribed, "Leo De Lon, VI, 1520," accompanied by a rude representation of a tree around which a serpent is entwined and a mark somewhat resembling the characters XA. This relic has given rise to various conjectures as to the presence of Spaniards during the first quarter of the sixteenth century in that neighbourhood, conjectures not altogether unfounded in view of traditions and indications recorded at a later date.[1] The inscription has been variously attributed to Ponce de Leon, Ayllon, and Narvaez, or some other Spanish adventurer, but the date of 1520, together with what is known of the region visited by De Leon and Narvaez, militate against their presence in that locality. True it is that the date corresponds with the year of Ayllon's first expedition along the coast, but the month of its departure is not known, while the inscription may indicate the month of June for the presence of the stranger in New York; however, nothing is known of what Ayllon's lieutenant, Quexos, did or where he went until his meeting with Gordillo in June of the following year. Neither is the inscription, if it be accepted as genuine, necessarily Spanish.[2]

It is also true that Herrera says that prior to the year

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[1] See the tradition of Spanish or Portuguese visitors in New York harbour, and of a ruined Spanish fort on a small island below Albany (Castle Island) in Jasper Dankers's and P. Sluyter's "Journal of a Voyage to New York, etc., 1679–1680," in *Long Island Hist. Memoirs*, vol. i., pp. 273, 318; also the note of Mr. Henry C. Murphy in *ibid.*, p. 329, commenting on the name of Rio de Montaigne given to the Hudson in De Laet's *Nieuwe Werldt* of 1625. See also Dexter's comments on the title of Rio de San Antonio, mentioned by Gomara in his chapter on Gomez, and supposed by some to be the name given on Spanish maps to the Hudson (*Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. iv., pp. 9–11). See also the Spanish names of certain Indian tribes, "Capitanasses, Gachoi, Canomakers," in Dr. O'Callahan's facsimile map in *Hist. of New Netherlands*, vol. i.; also the name of "Spanish Ramparts" given to certain ruins on the Tioga River near the confines of Pennsylvania, mentioned by the Duke de la Rochefoucauld and cited by Squier in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. ii., p. 86.

[2] See Appendix I, in this volume, "The Pompey Stone."

1525 there had been no Castilian exploration along the northern part of the Atlantic coast.[1] That there are *no records* of such expeditions previous to that of Gomez may be conceded, but when it is remembered that both Ponce de Leon and Ayllon began by making unauthorised adventures, there seems little reason to doubt that unlicensed Spanish explorers had already visited the coast north of Chesapeake Bay in quest of slaves,[2] and had even penetrated inland for some distance.[3] That there should be no record of such adventures would thus be easily accounted for.

With the return of Gomez, the entire Atlantic coast of the present United States had been visited by, and become more or less well known to, Spanish explorers; Ponce had rounded the Floridian Peninsula, Pineda had explored and plotted the Gulf of Mexico, and Ayllon and Gomez had skirted what remained of the Atlantic coast below the Portuguese possessions of Labrador.

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[1] Gomez "corrió por toda aquella costa, hasta la Florida, gran trecho de tierra, lo que hasta entonces, por otros navios Castellanos, no estaba navegado," etc.—Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 3, lib. viii., cap. vi., p. 241.

[2] See cédula of July 22, 1517, to the Jeronymite Fathers as to the illegal theft of Indians on Ponce's island of Bimini, *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xi., p. 295.

[3] John Ruts's letter to King Henry VIII., dated August 3, 1527, in St. Johns, Newfoundland, says: "There we found eleven saile of Norman, one Brittaine, and two Portuguese barks all a fishing." See *Purchas, his Pilgrimage*, p. 747, ed. 1614.

CHAPTER III

THE EXPEDITION OF PÁNFILO DE NARVAEZ—JOURNEY OF CABEÇA DE VACA ACROSS THE CONTINENT

WE have now to consider one of the most remarkable incidents of that age of adventure, the crossing of the continent from ocean to ocean by a band of shipwrecked Spaniards.

Pánfilo de Narvaez had been the lieutenant of Diego de Velasquez, governor of Cuba, in the reduction of that island, and Las Casas[1] has left some account of the methods pursued by the lieutenant, which bear the usual stamp of Spanish "pacifications." At a later period Narvaez commanded the armament sent by Velasquez to seize the intrepid Cortés and his companions, who had become estranged from his former employer and master; but the attempt proved futile, and Narvaez himself fell into the hands of the conqueror of Mexico, but was ultimately set at liberty.

Having observed in person what determination and courage could accomplish, and how easy it was to set at defiance viceroys and other officials when they were sufficiently remote from the scene of action, Narvaez returned to Spain, after twenty-six years spent in the royal service in the New World,[2] with a fortune largely increased by the executive ability of his wife.[1] Once there, he addressed to the king the usual requests for the grant of a kingdom, and after the consideration of his petition by the Council of the Indies, he was authorised to conquer the country extending from the Rio de las Palmas to the Cape of Florida, and was also granted the routine titles and concessions.[2]

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[1] *Historia de las Indias*, lib. iii., caps. xxvi., xxix., xxxii.

[2] "Petition of Narvaez to the King of Spain"; Buckingham Smith, *Relation of Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca*, Appendix I., p. 207. New York, 1871.

The settled islands of the Antilles had already begun to experience the vicissitudes of a constantly advancing frontier, and their white population was deserting them for the more promising regions of Mexico and Peru. Indeed, so extensive became the emigration, and so greatly did it threaten the interests of the Crown, that in the year preceding the departure of Narvaez for his new province, a law[3] had been passed forbidding the inhabitants of Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico to abandon their homes for other islands or for the continent under penalty of death and the confiscation of all their property. To prevent such an exodus as had occurred with the Ayllon expedition, a large part of whose company was drawn from the islands, Narvaez was required to recruit his colonists within the realms of Castile, taking with him emigrants sufficient for the settlement of two or more towns of at least one hundred men each.

Bernal Diaz, who had seen Pánfilo de Narvaez when in Mexico, and also Las Casas have left descriptions of his personal appearance.[4] He was a native either of Valladolid,

[1] Oviedo, vol. iii., p. 580.

[2] "Asiento y Capitulacion que tomó el Emperador con Panfilo de Narvaez vecino de la Ysla fernandina para el descubrimiento conquista y poblacion de las tierras que hay desde el Rio de las Palmas hasta el Cavo de la florida en Granada á 11 de Dizi^{re} de 1526."—Buckingham Smith, *North American MSS., 1500–1560*, p. 91; and see his *Relation*, Appendix I., p. 210.

[3] Of November 17, 1526; Saco, *Hist. de la Esclavitud*, p. 142.

[4] Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdadera*, tomo iv., cap. ccvi., p. 415; Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, lib. iii., cap. xxvi., cited in Buckingham Smith, pp. 97 *et seq.*; see also Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. ix., cap. vii., p. 243, who says he was from Cuellar.

or of Tudda on the Duro, of tall, commanding person, fair complexion, red-bearded, and had lost one eye in the conflict with Cortés. He was pleasant in conversation and had an agreeable address, together with a resonant voice, "as if it came from a cave," says Bernal Diaz. The priest, who was never known to flinch in the presence of man or devil, says that he was "brave *against Indians*, and probably would have been against any people, had ever occasion offered for fighting them." The soldier, looking at him with the eyes of one through whose hands had flowed the treasures of Montezuma, adds that "he was wealthy and was said to be penurious."

June 17, 1527, Narvaez set sail from the port of San Lucar for his province with six hundred colonists and soldiers aboard, among whom were priests, Franciscan friars, and negroes, and some women, the wives of certain members of the company. The officers of the expedition, besides Narvaez the governor, were Cabeça de Vaca, treasurer and high sheriff; Alonzo Enriquez, comptroller; Alonzo de Solis, distributor and assessor, and the Franciscan Father Juan Xuarez, superior or commissary of the friars. The mayor[1] and aldermen of the towns to be founded by Narvaez were already appointed,[2] and they as well as the officers carried their commissions with them to be presented to the governor in due season, when possession should be taken of the new territory.

Two of the principal officers deserve our attention for a moment. Of Cabeça de Vaca,[3] treasurer and high sheriff of the expedition, as well as its hero and historian, there are but scant details other than those proceeding from his own pen. His family was an ancient one which has been traced as far back as the twelfth century, and his singular name of Cow's Head is said to have had its origin in the skeleton of a cow's head placed at the entrance of a mountain pass by his ancestor, the shepherd Martin Alhaja, to indicate a passage through the defile to the king of Navarre, who was leading an army against the Moors. The king, successful in his campaign, ennobled Alhaja's descendants and changed his name to Cabeça de Vaca in commemoration of the event.

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[1] Buckingham Smith, *Rel.*, p. 18, note 2.

[2] Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 4, lib. iv., cap. iv., p. 63.

[3] Buckingham Smith, *Rel.*, Appendix VII., p. 233.

Cabeça was a native of Xeres de la Frontera in Spain, and previous to the expedition was living at Seville, in what occupation is not known; but his appointment to the office of treasurer,[1] upon whom devolved the duty of collecting the royal percentage upon all imports of gold, silver, jewels, and slaves, the rental of licences to import or export, the collection of fines, the shipment of these receipts to the Seville officials, and the payment of the officers' salaries, indicates a person of recognised position and responsibility. His subsequent career shows him to have been possessed of great adaptability, a ready wit, courage, honesty, and a kindly disposition, not unattended by the unquestioning faith of the age, although in his narrative there is a remarkable absence of the marvellous stories of giants, pigmies, troglodites, cynocephali, and other monsters, the common stock of all travellers' tales. Even when relating the miraculous cures performed by himself and companions, he is modest and always careful to qualify the results which he obtained.

Father Xuarez, the superior, or commissary, was one of the original band of twelve Franciscan friars who founded the mission of their Order in Mexico, whither they had been sent at the request of Cortés.[2]

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[1] "Instructions given to Cabeça de Vaca for his observance as Treasurer to the King of Spain," etc., Buckingham Smith, *Rel.*, Appendix IV., p. 218; Spanish text in Buckingham Smith, *North American MSS.*, *1500–1560*, p. 121; Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 4, lib. ii., cap. iv., p. 26.

[2] Torquemada, *Monarquia Indiana*, vol. iii., pp. 437, 447; Barcia, *Ensayo*, fol. 9, Año MDXXVII., says that Father Xuarez went as bishop of

On reaching the island of Santo Domingo, Narvaez remained forty-five days, during which he procured horses for his undertaking, but lost by desertion one hundred and forty of his men, seduced, it is likely, by the golden allurements of Mexico and Peru. From there he sailed to Santiago at the south-eastern end of Cuba. Sending Cabeça de Vaca with two vessels to the exposed port of Trinidad, on the south shore of the island, for a supply of provisions, he lost both ships with sixty of his men and twenty horses in a terrific hurricane, which felled the trees, overthrew houses and churches, and devastated the country. November 5, 1527, Narvaez arrived in person at Trinidad with the four remaining vessels of his fleet, which had successfully weathered the storm; but so terrified were his crews and the survivors from the wreck, that they persuaded him to delay his departure until the winter was over, to which he agreed, leaving Cabeça in charge of the remains of his fleet at the neighbouring and more sheltered port of Xagua.

The winter having passed, Narvaez set sail February 20, 1528, for the port of Havana with his four ships and a brigantine purchased at Trinidad to supply the loss occasioned by the storm. Aboard his fleet was his now much reduced company of four hundred men and eighty horses, while for pilot he had Diego Miruelo, nephew of Ayllon's former pilot,[1] who was employed because of his acquaintance with the situation of the Rio de las Palmas. But fate was against him; Miruelo grounded the vessels on the shoals, where they remained fast for fifteen days. Rounding the western extremity of Cuba violent storms

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the district, but is entirely discredited by Dr. Shea (*The Catholic Church*, etc., p. 111, note) on the ground that there is no trace of the erection of any See of Rio de las Palmas, the absence of his name from all lists of Spanish-American bishops, and of episcopal insigna in his portrait; Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 4, lib. ii., cap. iv., p. 26, says, Father Xuarez "fue presentado para Obispo de aquel Distrito."

[1] *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 9, Año MDXXVII.

were encountered, and at last, within twelve leagues of Havana, on the very eve of making port, a south wind drove the fleet toward the coast of Florida, in sight of which Narvaez came on the 12th of April. He had struck the western shore very nearly north of the city of Havana.

Sailing along the coast, Narvaez came to anchor on Holy Thursday, April 14th, somewhere in the vicinity of St. Clement's Point on the peninsula west of Tampa Bay,[1] the entrance to which in some strange way escaped them. At the head of the little inlet where the ships were anchored, and to which the name of Baía de la Cruz was given, was an Indian village in which was one of those great communal houses capable, says the narrative, of containing more than three hundred persons. On Good Friday Narvaez visited the town, but found it abandoned, the frightened natives having fled during the night. A search through the deserted habitations revealed only a single gold ornament and some fish-nets. The next day (April 16, 1528) Narvaez took official possession of the territory with the usual ceremonies observed on such occasions.

In the previous chapter mention was made of a summons prepared by certain learned men, which was commanded to be read to the natives "in the best manner, that they could be made to understand what was said." This particular form of summons or requirement was in more or less general use among the Spanish discoverers, only the introductory paragraph being varied to fit the occasion and the locality. Herrera[2] says it was framed by Dr. Palacios Rubios, a very learned jurist of that day and a member of the Council of the Indies; and because of its singularity it is here given in full. In the presence of part of the people who had landed, of the notary, the monks and officers of the expedition,[1] and of the deserted and ransacked huts, the prayer was recited, the royal standard raised and the governor made proclamation:

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[1] See Appendix J, in this volume, "The Landing-Place of Narvaez."

[2] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. x., cap. vii., p. 275. Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, vol. i., p. 358. gives a spirited translation of the requisition. A French translation is given in Ternaux-Compans's *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, p. 1. The version here followed is Buckingham Smith's; it varies occasionally, though not materially, from the French rendition just mentioned. The Spanish version, which is entitled "Notificacion y

"In behalf of the Catholic Cæsarean Majesty of Don Carlos, King of the Romans, and Emperor ever Augustus, and Doña Juana his mother, Sovereigns of Leon and Castilla, Defenders of the Church, ever victors, never vanquished, and rulers of barbarous nations, I, Pánfilo de Narvaez, his servant, messenger, and captain, notify and cause you to know in the best manner I can, that God our Lord, one and eternal, created the heaven and the earth, and one man and one woman of whom we and you and all men in the world have come, are descendants and the generation, as well will those be who shall come after us: but because of the infinity of offspring that followed in the five thousand years and more since the world was created, it has become necessary that some men should go in one direction and others in another, dividing into many Kingdoms and Provinces, since in a single one they could not be subsisted nor kept.

"All these nations God our Lord gave in charge to one person, called Saint Peter, that he might be Master and Superior over mankind, to be obeyed and be head of all the human race, wheresoever they might live and be, of whatever law, sect, or belief, giving him the whole world for his kingdom, lordship, and jurisdiction. And He commanded him to place

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requerimi^{o} que se a de hazer a los moradores de las trras e provincias que son desde el Rio de Palmas hasta el cabo de la Florida" (Buckingham Smith, *North American MSS., 1500–1560*, p. 117), is also given in Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vii., cap. xiv., p. 197. Helps, *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 363, says Pedrarias was furnished with this requisition when he sailed in 1514 for Darien. Alonzo de Ojeda read it at Carthagena.

[1] Oviedo, vol. iii., p. 583.

his seat in Rome, as a point most suited whence to rule the world; so He likewise permitted him to have and place his seat on any part of the earth to judge and govern all people, Christians, Moors, Jews, Gentiles and of whatever creed beside they might be: him they call Papa, which means admirable, greatest, father and preserver, since he is father and governor of all men. Thus Saint Peter was obeyed and taken for King, Lord, and Superior of the Universe by those who lived at that time, and so likewise have all the rest been held, who to the Pontificate were afterward elected: and thus has it continued until now, and will continue to the end of things.

"One of the Popes who succeeded him to that seat and dignity of which I spake, as Lord of the world, made a gift of these islands and main of the Ocean Sea, to the said Emperor and Queen, and their successors, our Lords, in these kingdoms, with all that is in them, as is contained in certain writings that thereupon took place, which may be seen if you desire. Thus are their Highnesses King and Queen of these islands and continent, by virtue of said gift; and as Sovereigns and Masters, some other islands, and nearly all where they have been proclaimed, have received their Majesties, obeyed and served, and do serve them as subjects should, with good will and no resistance, and immediately without delay, directly as they were informed, obeying the religious men whom their Highnesses sent to preach to them and teach our Holy Faith, of their entire free will and pleasure, without reward or condition whatsoever, becoming Christians which they are; and their Highnesses received them joyfully and benignly, ordering them to be treated as their subjects and vassals were, and you are held and obliged to act likewise.

"Wherefore, as best you can, I entreat and require you to understand this well which I have told you, taking the time for it that is just you should, to comprehend and reflect, and that you recognise the Church as Mistress and Superior of the Universe, and the High Pontiff, called Papa, in its name, the Queen and King, our Masters in their place as Lords, Superiors, and Sovereigns of these islands and the main by virtue of said gift, and you consent and give opportunity that these fathers and religious men, declare and preach to you as stated. If you shall do so you will do well in what you are held and obliged; and their Majesties, and I, in their royal name, will receive you with love and charity, relinquishing in freedom your women, children and estates without service, that with them and yourselves you may do with perfect liberty all you wish and may deem well; you shall not be required to become Christians, except when, informed of the truth, you desire to be converted to our Holy Catholic Faith, as nearly all the inhabitants of the other islands have done, and when his Highness will confer on you numerous privileges and instruction, with many favours.

"If you do not this, and of malice you be dilatory, I protest to you, that, with the help of Our Lord, I will enter with force, making war upon you from all directions and in every manner that I may be able, when I will subject you to obedience to the Church and the yoke of their Majesties; and I will take the persons of yourselves, your wives and your children to make slaves, sell and dispose of you, as their Majesties shall think fit, and I will take your goods, doing you all the evil and injury that I may be able, as to vassals who do not obey but reject their master, resist and deny him; and I declare to you that the deaths and damages that arise therefrom, will be your fault and not that of his Majesty, nor mine, nor of these cavaliers who came with me. And so as I proclaim and require this, I ask of the Notary here that he give a certificate; and those present I beseech that they will hereof be the witnesses."

This solemn farce being over, and Narvaez having made known his authority, the various officers laid their commissions before him to receive his recognition, and then the remainder of the company came ashore, including forty-two horses, which had survived the tempestuous passage. "Next day," says the narrative, "the Indians of the town came and spoke to us; but as we had no interpreter we could not understand what they meant.

They made signs and menaces, and appeared to say we must go away from the country."[1] The absence of an interpreter was an unfortunate circumstance, for it is extremely probable that the more courageous of the natives, who, lurking behind the neighbouring palms and cedars, had listened to the sonorous Castilian of the requisition, had reported the same to their midnight council, and after careful discussion, being still children of perdition, had returned and were irreverently poking fun at "the Catholic Cæsarean Majesty and the High Pontiff called Papa," and asking for a view of the writings of which profert had been so freely made.

Now began the serious work of exploration. The governor headed a party, which, crossing the peninsula in a northerly direction, discovered the western arm of Tampa Bay called Old Tampa. On his return Narvaez sent away the brigantine to search for a harbour and then to bring assistance from Havana, where he had left a vessel in reserve with infantry and cavalry, in command of Alvaro de la Cerda. The head of Tampa Bay was next visited, and in the little Indian village there located were found evidences of the wreckage of a Spanish ship, and traces of gold, which, if the Spaniards understood aright, came from "Apalache," where it would be found in abundance. Another inland excursion was also made to a small Indian village.

Narvaez now called a council to decide upon the next step to be taken. The commissary, Father Xuarez, and the governor, with most of the officers, were in favour of sending the remaining ships along the coast to look for Panuco, while the remainder of the company followed on shore, and this was the course finally determined upon, in spite of Cabeça de Vaca's gloomy foreboding that they were never more to find the ships, nor the ships them. So Cabeça prudently armed himself with a notarial certificate that he had so advised the governor, and Narvaez did the same, to justify his own action. Nor was Cabeça the only one to anticipate evil. When Narvaez's determination became known, one of the women aboard the fleet, who, previous to leaving Spain, had foretold many of the things which subsequently occurred during the passage, "cautioned him not to go inland, as she was confident that neither he nor any going with him could ever escape." And when asked "whence she had learned those things that had passed, as well as those she spoke of that were to come, she replied that in Castilla a Moorish woman of Hornachos had told them to her."[1] But Narvaez was not to be so easily turned from his purpose.

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[1] "Naufragios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca," cap. iii., p. 3 in Barcia, *Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias*, tomo i.

Preparatory to the journey inland, the governor ordered that the three remaining ships should take the direct course to Panuco, keeping along the shore until they found it, and there await his arrival. The history of the naval part of the expedition is briefly told. Sailing up the coast, and failing to discover the harbour, the ships returned by the same way, and five leagues below the Baía de la Cruz, where they had first anchored, discovered the mouth of Tampa Bay. Cerda having arrived from Cuba with his ship, search was made for Narvaez for a whole year, and at last, despairing of success, the fleet sailed for New Spain.

The course pursued by the Castilian sibyl should not be omitted, as evidence of her good faith. Cabeça relates the current report:

> "When they had betaken themselves to the ships, all of them looking at that woman, they distinctly heard her say to the females, that well, since their husbands had gone inland, putting their persons in so great jeopardy, their wives should

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[1] "Naufragios," cap. xxxviii., p. 43, in *Historiadores*, tomo i.

in no way take more account of them, but ought soon to be looking after whom they would marry, and that she should do so. She did accordingly."[1]

It is to be hoped that her choice fell upon someone more ready than her previous spouse to give ear to her prophetic utterances.

On Sunday, May 1st, the company took up its march, three hundred men in all, including Father Juan Xuarez, the commissary, Friar de Palos, three priests, the officers, and forty mounted men. Among the latter was Cabeça, who had refused the command of the returning ships. They advanced through the country northward in the direction of Appalachee, keeping at some distance from the coast, eking out the scant supply of biscuit and bacon with the young leaves of the dwarf-palm,[2] until, after fifteen days' march, they reached the Withlacoochee,[3] which they crossed by swimming and on rafts of their own construction. On the opposite bank of the river, for the first time since their departure, some two hundred Indians were encountered, a number of whom they seized, and on approaching the Indian village, obtained a quantity of maize fit to be gathered, of which the Spaniards stood in dire need. Here they remained a few days, while two successive exploring parties were sent down to the bay at the river's mouth in unsuccessful search for a harbour.

Setting out again in search of Appalachee, the Spaniards came upon an Indian chief attended by a company of natives playing upon flutes,[4] and after some parley and

[1] "Naufragios," cap. xxxviii., p. 43, in *ibid.*, Buckingham Smith's trans.

[2] Buckingham Smith, *Rel.*, p. 33, note 2.

[3] Buckingham Smith (*ibid.*, p. 34), Prince (*Hist. N. Mexico*, pp. 49, 89), Davis (*Spanish Conquest of N. Mex.*, p. 28), and Fairbanks (*Hist. Florida*, p. 33) all agree upon this river.

[4] De Soto was met by flute-playing Indians in this same locality. Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 566.

exchange of gifts, followed him across the Suwanee[1] to his village. While crossing the river one of the horsemen was drowned, but the body of his horse was found, and afforded supper to many that night. Later on, the chief and his people having deserted them, some natives were seized upon by an ambush of cavalry and compelled to serve as guides.

The appearance of the country now began to change. From the open woods of pine and oak, the shallow lakes with sandy bottoms, the sand-hummocks and semi-stagnant swamps of live-oak, cedar, and cypress through which they had passed, their guides now led them through dense forests where the trees were of great height; some still standing though riven from top to bottom by lightning, others stretched prone upon the ground in such numbers as to obstruct their advance. Toiling onward over fallen trees, exhausted through hunger, their shoulders galled from carrying the armour on their backs, the adventurers came in view of Appalachee on the 25th of June, when their hearts were rejoiced by the near prospect of an abundance of food and gold.

It was an Indian town,[2] not far from the present site of

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[1] Buckingham Smith (*Rel.*, p. 34), Prince (*ibid.*, pp. 50, 89), Davis (*ibid.*, p. 25, note 2), and Fairbanks (*ibid.*, p. 33) all agree upon this river.

[2] Prince (*ibid.*, p. 90), places "Apalache" "in the vicinity of Tallahassee, or farther north in south-western Georgia, or near the locality of Chattahoochee." Davis (*ibid.*, p. 26) says, "It can only be located by conjecture," and he places it between the Suwanee and the Ocilla. Fairbanks (*ibid.*, p. 34) says it is "situated on a lake and there was another village across the lake, which was possibly Miccasukie Lake." Buckingham Smith (*ibid.*, p. 42, note 3) says "Apalache" was "the name of the territory or town; probably in the language of the Timuqua Indians." Gatschet (*Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 74) says the town "was north of Apalachie Bay. . . . This was probably the place after which Apalachie provincia was named in De Soto's time." He says the word is in the Hichiti dialect of the Maskoki (Muskhogean, Powell, *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 94), and signifies "those on the other side, shore, or river." This "Apalache" was nine

Tallahassee, situated on one of the larger lakes, possibly on Lake Miccasukee, surrounded by dense woods, interspersed occasionally with fields of maize and with many small lakes, the approach being difficult and dangerous for travel because of the fallen trunks of the great trees. On the opposite shore of the lake was another Indian village, and the inhabitants spoke perhaps the Hitchiti dialect of the great Muskhogean family, which occupied most of the country between the Mississippi River and the Atlantic, and of which they were a branch. How bitter must have been the disappointment of the Spaniards when they found but a group of some forty small huts, roofed with thatch and built low to shelter them from the storms! It was occupied only by the women and children; there were, however, mortars for cracking maize, deerskins, and, best of all, maize in plenty. Shortly after their arrival, the warriors returned, but, in an attempt to regain possession of the village, were dispersed by the Spaniards. Returning again in peace, the women and children were released, but the chief was detained as hostage.

Here Narvaez remained for twenty-five days, making incursions into the neighbouring country, and confirming the report that Appalachee was the largest town in all that region, and that "thenceforth were great lakes, dense mountains, immense deserts and solitudes."[1] There was small temptation to remain. The country was poor and impenetrable, and the Indians were continually harassing them, shooting at them from behind the trees and from the lakes where they could not be reached, killing

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days' travel from Auté ("Naufragios," cap. vii.) and lay to the north of it, surrounded by lakes of which the largest lay next it. The location on Lake Miccasukee best fills the conditions. I think there can be little doubt it was located among the lakes in the northern ends of Leon and Jefferson counties, north of Tallahassee, Florida. See Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 6, lib. vii., cap. xii., p. 167.

[1] "Naufragios," cap. vii., p. 7, in *Historiadores*, tomo i.

their horses and men, among others a native Mexican, a prince of the blood,[1] who had followed the fortunes of Father Xuarez. So Narvaez concluded to go south, in quest of the sea, to the village of Auté[2] on the present site of St. Mark's, nine days' march from Appalachee, where maize, beans, pumpkins, fish, and friendly Indians were promised him by his unwilling hosts. Again the forlorn band took up its weary march, wading breast-high through the lakes, dodging the floating logs, clambering over the fallen trunks, in constant fight with the Indians, who beset them at all the most difficult passages, and whose skill as archers was a matter of unceasing wonder to these mail-clad warriors.

Arrived at Auté, their hopes were rewarded by a plentiful supply of food, and while the main body rested, an expedition was sent out to look for the sea. After an absence of three or four days, the party brought back the report that the creeks and bays were large and difficult to examine and that the seashore was very distant.

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[1] Buckingham Smith, *Historical Magazine*, vol. vi., p. 128, April, 1862; and *Rel.*, p. 42, says Don Pedro was a prince of the blood.

[2] Prince (*ibid.*, p. 90) says Auté may have been St. Mark's, or the "great river" the Appalachicola, and Auté near the site of Fort Gadsden. Davis (*ibid.*, p. 29) considers the situation uncertain. Pickett (*Hist. Alabama*, vol. i., p. 2) says, "the present site of St. Mark's." Fairbanks (*ibid.*, p. 36) says, "the probabilities are that it was near the Bay of Apalachicola," and the river "was probably the Choctawatchee." Shipp (*De Soto and Florida*, p. 97) thinks it was on the Bay of St. Mark's, the location also fixed upon by Theodore Irving (*The Conquest of Florida*, vol. i., p. 20). Pickett (*ibid.*, vol. i., p. 5), Irving (*ibid.*, vol. i., p. 168), and Fairbanks (*ibid.*, p. 75) all identify it with the Auté of De Soto, called "Auté," in *La Florida del Inca*, lib. ii., 2ª pte., cap. v., p. 76; cap. vi., p. 77. and "Ochete," in Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 570. Gatschet (*Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 74) derives the name "perhaps from the Hichiti term, *a-útilis*, I build or kindle a fire." Fairbanks's river, "Choctawatchee," must be wrong, as it would be nearly one hundred miles west from "Apalache" on Lake Miccasukee and then one hundred miles south-east to Appalachicola Bay. The present site of St. Mark's fulfils all of the conditions except that the distance appears somewhat short.

During its absence Narvaez and many others had fallen ill. But the sea was the only possible avenue of escape, and so the next day a start was again made for it, with horses insufficient in number to carry the sick, who soon formed one third of the entire company. Treachery added to their misfortunes. A plot was discovered among the horsemen to desert the governor and the sick, who, weak and prostrate, were in no condition to prevent it; but good sense and humanity prevailed and the conspirators were dissuaded from accomplishing their purpose.

In this evil plight the unfortunate adventurers at last reached one of the little harbours in Appalachee Bay,[1] where, after consultation, it was determined to build boats in which they might make their escape. It was a desperate project. There was but one carpenter in all the company; there were neither "tools, nor iron, nor forge, nor tow, nor resin, nor rigging . . . nor any man who had a knowledge of their manufacture; and, above all, there was nothing to eat while building for those who should labour";[2] even stones for ballast and anchors were hardly to be found. But despair lent energy to their councils, and soon a forge sprang up, in which the bellows were constructed of wooden pipes and deerskins. Everything that could furnish metal was called into requisition; it was no longer gold but iron which they sought for. Stirrups, spurs, crossbows, and other articles of iron were wrought into nails, saws, axes, and other necessary tools. The fan-palm was collected for covering, and, as a substitute for tow, its fibre prepared and twisted, served to caulk the boats; from its husk and from the tails and the manes of the horses ropes and riggings were made. Out of the shirts sails were formed. A Greek of the company extracted resin from the pine. Oars were hewn from the savins. The remaining horses were flayed, the skins removed from their legs entire, tanned, and converted into bottles in which to carry water, and the carcasses served for food during the building of the boats. By the time that five boats were completed there remained but one horse unconsumed, and more than forty men had died of disease and hunger, not counting those killed by the Indians, who kept up a spasmodic war upon them.

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[1] Charlevoix (*Letters*, xxxiv.) and Prince (*ibid.*, p. 90) accept Appalachee Bay as the place of embarkation. Davis (*ibid.*, p. 31) selects "one of the coves or inlets of Apalache Bay." Fairbanks (*ibid.*, p. 39), thinks it was "probably the head of the Bay of Apalachicola." Dr. Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 243) appears to fix on Choctawhatchee Bay (?); and see Buckingham Smith (*Rel.*, p. 55), who thinks the place was Appalachee Bay. It was here De Soto saw remains of the party (Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 565; Garcilaso, *La Florida del Inca*, lib. iii., cap. vii., p. 78; Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 49).

[2] "Naufragios," cap. viii., p. 9, in *Historiadores*, tomo i; Oviedo, vol. iii., p. 587.

At last, on the 22d of September, 1528, the two hundred and forty-two survivors embarked in the boats which they had provisioned with a quantity of maize gotten from the Indians of Auté in a succession of raids. In the first boat went Narvaez with forty-nine men; in the second, Alonzo Enriquez, Father Xuarez, and forty-nine men; in the third, captains Alonzo del Castillo and Andrés Dorantes, with forty-eight men; in the fourth, captains Tellez and Peñalosa, with forty-seven men, and in the fifth and last, Alonzo de Solis and Cabeça de Vaca, with forty-nine men. The boats were so overloaded after the provisions and clothes had been taken in, that not more than a span of the gunwales remained above water, and the men were unable to move; and, further than this, not one of the entire company had any knowledge of navigation. They named the harbour which they were leaving Baía de Caballos, the Bay of Horses.

Proceeding westward, the boats made their way through sounds and bays, out of sight of the Gulf, and finding at last an exit between the islands that fringe the shore, they followed the coast in the direction of the Rio de las Palmas. As their leathern bottles soon rotted and their provisions rapidly decreased, they were reduced to the last extremities of hunger and thirst, some of the men becoming crazed from drinking the sea-water. Presently a violent storm overtook them, delaying the frail fleet at one of the coast islands, until in desperation they took to the wind-tossed Gulf, rather than endure any longer the raging thirst which possessed them.

But relief was near at hand. In the evening, after doubling a point of land, the Spaniards came upon an Indian village the houses of which were built near the shore, and in front of them stood clay jars filled with water, and cooked fish was found in abundance. Kindly received into his mat dwellings by the Indian chief, they were betrayed by a night attack in which the governor and others were wounded, but having driven off the natives, they put to sea the next morning, and on the third day were again compelled to land in search of water. Here they had the misfortune of losing the Greek who had procured the resin for the boats, he and a negro having gone off with some Indians of the place in search of water. At night the Indians returned with empty water vessels, but the Greek and the negro who had accompanied them were not heard from again. Years afterwards De Soto, travelling in that region, saw a dagger, a relic of the Greek. Some have supposed that Pensacola Bay[1] was the scene of this incident.

The following day the Indians gathered in considerable numbers to release the hostages left with the governor the day before, when the Christians had gone with them for water, but the Spaniards put out again into the Gulf, and at last Cabeça came upon the mouth of a broad river, which poured so large a stream of water into the Gulf, that he took fresh water from the sea. It was probably the Mississippi River.[1] But its powerful current and the north wind carried the boats out into the open sea to so great a distance from land, that only on the evening of the third day did they again see the smoke curling up along the shore. They were compelled to wait over night, and when day broke, it was found that the boats had parted company.

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[1] Buckingham Smith (*Rel.*, p. 64) on the authority of Barcia (*Ensayo*, Año MDCXCIII) and Biedma (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 53). Prince (*ibid.*, p. 90) says either Pensacola or Mobile Bay, and Fairbanks (*ibid.*, p. 40), St. Joseph's Bay.

The boat commanded by Cabeça de Vaca kept on its way, until, toward evening, it overtook the governor's boat. Beyond them both still a third boat lay in view out at sea. After a short parley, Cabeça concluded to follow the governor, but as Narvaez had aboard the healthiest of all the men, Cabeça was unable to keep up with him, and on the refusal of Narvaez to tow the laggards, the two parted, and Cabeça joined the boat out at sea, which proved to be that commanded by captains Tellez and Peñalosa. During four days the two kept company, subsisting upon a daily allowance of a handful of raw maize until a storm parted them also, and Cabeça was left alone with his crew.

It was in the winter season, and the storm-tossed and famished adventurers at last began to reach the limit of their endurance. One by one they yielded to despair, relinquishing the oars and throwing themselves into the bottom of their frail bark, where they lay in a state of semi-insensibility. Soon out of the boat's company of fifty-one men, only five were left upon their feet; as night came on but two were left, the master and Cabeça, and when darkness had closed in upon them, the master also succumbed, and Cabeça alone remained at the helm, steering with the paddle. After a little rest, the master revived and again took the direction of the boat. Towards morning, Cabeça, who had lain down to rest, but not to sleep, heard the sound of breakers, and shortly thereafter, on nearing land, a wave took the boat and tossed it some distance into shallow water. The violence of the blow aroused the half-dead crew, who crawled ashore into a ravine, where they built themselves a fire, at which they parched some maize, and, finding some rain-water, revived a little their exhausted energy.

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[1] "Naufragios," cap. x., p. 12, *ibid.*, tomo i; Oviedo, vol. iii., p. 589. Buckingham Smith (*ibid.*, p. 64), Prince (*ibid.*, p. 91), and Davis (*ibid.*, p. 42) all think it was the Mississippi River. Smith adds: "The date is about the 2d of November, 1528."

The day on which Cabeça and his crew were cast ashore was the 6th of November, 1528, and the land proved to be that of one of the numerous islands along the Louisiana and Texas coasts, not far distant from Matagorda Bay.[1] The native name for it was Auia; it was over thirteen miles long, about a mile and a half wide, and lay at the mouth of a bay in which was another island.

It was inhabited by two tribes of miserable, half-naked savages, the Capoques and the Hans. The men pierced the ears, the breasts, and the upper lip, through which they passed a piece of cane. The women dressed in the long Spanish moss,[2] and the young girls wore deerskins. Their only arms were the bow and arrow. Each clan lived apart in mat houses built on heaps of shells of the oyster, which formed one of their chief means of subsistence, together with fish caught in cane weirs, roots, and other trifles, the greater part of which were laboriously dug from under water. Their marriage rites were primitive, the wife carrying the products of the husband's chase to her father, probably by way of purchase. They were monogamous, only the medicine-men permitting themselves the luxury of two or three wives, "between whom," Cabeça naïvely observes, "exists the greatest friendship and harmony." As among all Indians, the women were used to the severest labour.

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[1] Buckingham Smith (*ibid.*, p. 89) says if San Antonio Bay is Espiritu Sancto Bay, "we may look . . . over the north-eastern portion of the bay, as far as the entrance upon the Bay of Matagorda, . . . the distance in a direct line of twenty-five statute miles, for the discovery of Malhado." But he fails to find an island which answers its description. Prince (*ibid.*, p. 91) says: "At or near Galveston, or as far west as Matagorda Beach or Matagorda Island. . . . Certainly one of the low islands so numerous on the coast of western Louisiana and Texas." Davis (*ibid.*, p. 41, note) says: "One of the low sandy islands that line the coast of Louisiana."

[2] *Tillandsia usneoides*, Buckingham Smith (*ibid.*, p. 83).

They were of a kind-hearted and affectionate disposition, and mourned the dead a year with alternate feasts and severe fastings, and they buried all except the medicine-men in the earth. The latter they cremated, and after a given time their ashes mixed with water were drunk by the dead shaman's relatives. The medicine-men effected cures by scarifying and sucking the wound, by cauteries, and by magic, such as breathing upon the affected part and laying hands upon the patients. They appear to have possessed a little pottery, manufactured by themselves or obtained in barter. Their religion appears to have involved some kind of planetary worship, in addition to the fetishism common to all Indians. From October to February, while the roots upon which they lived were in an edible condition, the Indians lived upon the island, and then they went inland in search of food. Probably these starving fishermen were but types of the natives inhabiting the coast islands and even the interior for some distance from the shore, and lucky it was for Cabeça and his companions that the Indians were still on the island when they were wrecked.

Having discovered that they were cast upon an island, the adventurers soon fell in with some Indians who treated them with great kindness, brought them food, and, after a vain attempt of the shipwrecked crew to launch their boat, in which all of their remaining possessions and three of their number were lost, carried the survivors to their village, while they were kept warm by fires kindled at intervals along the way. Here, on the island, which the Spaniards named Malhado, or Misfortune, Cabeça remained a year. Shortly after landing he was joined by Andrés Dorantes with the crew of the third boat wrecked at no great distance from the same place. There were now eighty men on the island, and a renewed but fruitless attempt was made to raise the sunken boat; finally four Spaniards, one of whom was Figuora, a native of Toledo, and one of the islanders, started off in search of Panuco.

Again came winter, cold, and storm, bringing in their train starvation and death to many of the Spaniards; for the Indians were unable to catch fish or dig for roots. One small party was reduced to cannibalism, greatly to the horror of the natives. And now but fifteen men were left alive out of the eighty who had met upon the island. Next, the natives were attacked with a disease which carried off half their number, and the Spaniards would have fallen victims to their superstitious revenge but for the practical good sense of the Indian who had charge of Cabeça, who argued that if the strangers were really able to cause the death of the Indians, they would have prevented their own people from dying in the same manner. The outcome of this experience was curious enough.

In their extremity the sick Indians turned to the white men for assistance, and reasoning that since stones and other matters growing about in the fields had curative properties, such extraordinary men as these must possess power and efficacy over all other things. This power the Indians determined to use to effect their own recovery. The Spaniards rebelled, but the Indians had a still more potent argument in store than the mere logic of words.

"They withheld food from us until we should practise what they required," says Cabeça, and "at last finding ourselves in great want, we were constrained to obey." Thus, under duress, they began a system of miraculous cures, which stood them in good stead in their further adventures. Cabeça continues:

> "Our method was to bless the sick, breathing upon them, and recite a Pater-Noster and an Ave-Maria, praying with all earnestness to God our Lord that He would give health and influence to make us some good return. In His clemency He willed that all those for whom we supplicated should tell the others that they were sound and in good health, directly after we had made the sign of the blessed Cross over them."[1]

In this they appear to have followed the practice of certain Castilian healers of their own country.[2] Perhaps when the storm of controversy aroused by this first of miracles performed upon our soil shall have been quite forgotten, another saint shall be added to the Calendar, worthy to become the patron of the present State of Texas.

A year or so later, Cabeça, weary of digging roots from under water and of his harsh treatment by the natives, determined to escape to the mainland. Meanwhile Andrés Dorantes, Estevanico, an Arabian black from Azamor in Morocco,[3] and the remainder of the Spaniards, following another band of Indians with whom they were dwelling, had become separated from him, and had gone down the coast, after leaving on the island two of their number, Lope de Oviedo and another too ill to travel.

Having made good his escape to the mainland, Cabeça began a traffic among the natives, travelling for forty or fifty leagues along the coast and up into the interior among the Atayos[1] and other tribes who lived in the direction of the Red River of Louisiana.[2] Naked as the savages among whom he roved, he brought them, from the seacoast, various articles of shells, such as conches used for cutting-instruments, ornaments made of the spines of conches, the shell having been ground away to form a long, narrow shaft, and small beads and beans used for medicinal purposes; and in exchange for these he procured skins and ochre pigments for the face, hard canes for arrows, flint heads, and tassels of the hair of the deer dyed red. In these wanderings, which he made only during the summer, on account of the severity of the winter, he acquainted himself with the country.

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[1] "Naufragios," cap. xv., p. 16, *Historiadores*, tomo i., Buckingham Smith's trans.

[2] Oviedo, vol. iii. p. 603.

[3] "Naufragios," p. 43, *ibid.*; Oviedo, vol. iii., p. 618.

Every year Cabeça returned to the island of Malhado to persuade Oviedo to escape with him. Finally, Oviedo's companion having died, the two began their journey in search of a Christian land, travelling south. After leaving Malhado they crossed four rivers, one of which emptied directly into the Gulf, and soon came upon a bay supposed by them to have been that of Espiritu Santo, referring, it has been thought, to the bay so named on the Pineda map, and now supposed by some authorities to be Matagorda Bay,[3] made famous one

[1] That the Atayos of Cabeça are probably the Adai of the Adaizan linguistic group, living then, as in 1806, between the Sabine and Red rivers, see Buckingham Smith, *Rel.*, p. 127; Gatschet, *Migration Legend*, vol. i., pp. 41 and 43; and Powell, *Seventh Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 46.

[2] Bandelier, *Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States*, p. 28.

[3] Oviedo (vol. iii., p. 593) says: "The bay was broad, nearly a league across. The side towards Panuco forms a point running out nearly a quarter of a league (nearly two thirds of a mile), having on it some large, white sand-stacks which it is reasonable to suppose can be descried from a distance at sea." *The United States Coast Survey Report for 1859*, p. 325 says: "The north-west shore (of the Bay of St. Anthony) is the delta of the Guadalupe. . . . On the west shore the elevated prairie comes to the bay in a bluff or bank of twenty feet. . . . At one place on this side

hundred and fifty years later by the unfortunate colony of La Salle. Having crossed the bay, they fell in with a party of Indians from whom they learned that farther on were three men like themselves, who proved to be Andrés Dorantes, Castillo, and the negro Estevanico. Here Cabeça's companion, for whom he had waited during those six long years of nakedness and peril, frightened at the rough treatment of the Indians, deserted him and returned across the bay, leaving Cabeça alone with the Quevenes.

Two days later, Cabeça learned that the Mareames and Iguases with their Christian slaves, Dorantes, Castillo, and Estevanico, had come down to the river in his neighbourhood in search of walnuts, which they ground up with a species of small grain, and upon which food they subsisted for two months of the year. Stealing away from the Quevenes, Cabeça joined the three Christians, whose delight at finding him alive was only equalled by his own at meeting them. A plan of escape was soon agreed upon between them, to be carried into effect six months later when their Indian masters went into another part of the country to eat the fruit of the prickly pear, a species of cactus[1] which grows in large quantities in the

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a singular range of sand-hills, known as the Sand-Mounds, approaches the shore. The highest peak is about seventy-five feet above the bay . . . forming a marked feature in that otherwise level prairie region." This extract is quoted by Buckingham Smith (*ibid.*, p. 89), who seems disposed to accept the Bay of St. Anthony, as does also H. H. Bancroft, *North Mex. States*, vol. i., p. 63. Cabeça, who must have travelled south, since he met his companions, who had gone in the direction of Panuco, crossed four rivers, one of them, according to Oviedo (vol. iii., p. 595), a "very powerful river, which drove one of the rafts a league to sea." The only river casting itself directly into the Gulf along the Texas coast is the Brazos between Galveston Island and the north-eastern arm of Matagorda Bay.

[1] *Opuntia*. It "does not appear in eastern Texas towards the Indian Territory in any great abundance, and yet the natives were wont to leave the coast and go inland in order to subsist for months on the tuna or cactus fruit." This statement "can only apply to southern and central Texas." Bandelier, *Contributions*, etc., p. 57.

central and southern region of Texas, and bears a fruit somewhat resembling a fig. It was a staple article of food on which these starving tribes kept alive for several months of the year. In the absence of vessels, its juice was collected in holes in the ground out of which it was drunk, and the fruit was opened, dried, and then packed in hampers, like figs, for transportation. "There are many kinds of prickly pears," says Cabeça, "among them some very good, although they all appeared to me to be so, hunger never having given me leisure to choose, nor to reflect upon which were the best." [1]

Dorantes related to Cabeça the fate of two more of the boats which had set out from the ill-omened Bay of Horses. This he had learned from the sole survivor of the party of four which had first left Malhado to find Panuco, and who had ultimately returned to the coast where he was accustomed to live. He in turn heard the sad story from one of the crew of the comptroller's boat, whom he found living among the natives.

After Cabeça had parted from him, Narvaez, following the coast in his boat, had come upon the comptroller and Father Xuarez with the friars and the crew of the second boat, which had been upset at the confluence of the rivers,—possibly one of the mouths of the Mississippi. Landing some of his own crew, Narvaez kept along the coast, while the remainder of the company, now increased by the crew of the second boat, followed along the shore until they came to a bay, across which Narvaez ferried them. Narvaez remained aboard the boat during the following night, with the cockswain and a page who was unwell; but the boat had only a stone for anchor, and, the north wind rising, Narvaez and those with him were swept out to sea, with neither water nor food aboard, and were never heard from again.

Not less terrible was the fate of those left on shore.

[1] "Naufragios," cap. xix., p. 22, *Historiadores*, tomo i.

Still working along the coast, they fed on crabs and shellfish, until one by one they began to die from hunger and cold. Still further pressed for food, the survivors were reduced to eat the flesh of those who died, until but one man was left alive, himself to fall a victim to one of those widespread primitive beliefs not unknown to races of higher civilisation. A native woman having dreamed that he was destined to kill her son, the Spaniard attempted to escape, but was pursued and slain by the Indians. As to his own party of twelve who had left the island of Malhado at a later date, Dorantes related that four of their number had been drowned, two lost on the journey, and three more killed by the natives.

Subsequently the fate of the remaining boat's crew—that commanded by Peñalosa and Tellez—was also learned. The men, having come ashore too feeble to offer any resistance, had all been slain by the Indians. Of all that company of governor and officers, priests and friars, mayors and aldermen, mail-clad hidalgos and caparisoned horses, but ten were now alive, and the four here gathered together, Cabeça, Dorantes, Castillo, and the negro Estevanico, together with Juan Ortiz, lost in the wilds of Florida, were alone destined ever to see the faces of their own people again.

Cabeça having been given as a slave to the Indian master of Dorantes, the Spaniards bided their time until the coming of the season for the prickly pears. Meanwhile Castillo and the negro went into the interior among the Iguases, whose customs were in many ways similar to those of the Mareames, among whom their companions remained. Both tribes killed their female children for fear the surrounding tribes with whom they were at war should seize them and by them increase the number of their enemies. Like all these Texan natives, the Iguases spent their lives divided between alternate conditions of starvation and repletion. Having no agricultural pursuits, at one time they lived upon bitter roots and vermin, such as spiders and snakes, eating even the powdered bones of the latter, so pressed by hunger, says Cabeça, "that if there had been stones in that country I believe they would have eaten them,"[1] and at another time, "to them the happiest part of the year," feeding upon the prickly pear. Occasionally they hunted the deer, coursing him on foot all day long until he was run down, or killed him by encircling him with fire. Their houses were of matting and were carried about with them. Like all the Indians of our southern territory, they drank an intoxicating decoction, made, says Buckingham Smith, from the Yupon leaves, a beverage which they partook of hot and in large quantities.[2]

Elsewhere, speaking generally of the Indian customs prevalent throughout that part of Texas with which he was familiar, Cabeça says that the children were not weaned until twelve years of age, because of the great poverty of the land. "They are all warlike," he says, "and have as much strategy for protecting themselves against enemies as they could have were they reared in Italy in continual feuds."[3] (The Italian war was at its height when Narvaez sailed from Spain.) One of these strategies consisted in deluding the enemy with the idea that their lodges were occupied, presumably to draw an attack, while the warriors passed the night in a neighbouring ditch, covered with boughs and sticks to disguise its location, from which they could shoot at the approaching enemy. He remarks upon their unwearying vigilance at night, when danger was near; their habit of bending low and leaping about to avoid the shafts of their enemies; their remarkably keen sight and hearing; their great endurance in hunger, thirst, and cold; the universal custom of smoking, and the occasional presence of the crime against nature.

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[1] "Naufragios," cap. xviii., p. 21, *ibid.*

[2] Buckingham Smith, *Rel.*, p. 139, note 2.

[3] "Naufragios," cap. xxiv., p. 27, *ibid.*

After speaking of the Iguases, Cabeça, who could not have been far from the vicinity of Matagorda Bay, proceeds: "Cattle come as far as here. Three times I have seen them and eaten of their meat," and then he gives us the first known description of the American bison.

> "I think they are about the size of those in Spain. They have small horns like the cows of Morocco; the hair is very long and flocky like the merino's. Some are tawny, others black; to my judgment the flesh is finer and fatter than that of this country.[1] Of the skins of those not full grown the Indians make blankets, and of the larger they make shoes and bucklers. They come as far as the seacoast of Florida, from a northerly direction, ranging through a tract of more than four hundred leagues; and throughout the whole region over which they run, the people who inhabit near descend and live upon them, distributing a vast many hides into the interior country."[2]

Cabeça also mentions the plague of innumerable mosquitoes, abundant in every part of the country, which the natives drove away with smudges, and sometimes by setting fire to the plains and forests.

The six months had passed, the season of prickly pears had come, the Indians with their Spanish slaves were at the appointed place, and everything was ripe for the escape, when fate intervened in the shape of a woman over whom there arose a quarrel; whereupon the Indians parted, the unlucky slaves were again separated, and the flight had to be postponed for another year. Oviedo gives some further details of what these unfortunate men had to endure; how, naked and barefooted, faint with hunger, beaten and maltreated by their taskmasters, they bore their burdens for them, while the children amused themselves by pulling out their beards, sometimes drawing the blood with their sharp nails, and at other times pelted them with stones, all of which they had to endure with patience, glad to escape with their lives.[1]

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[1] The context and the expression "estos Reinos" (see also "Naufragios," cap. xxvii., p. 41) seem to indicate that the report was written in Spain, where it was also printed.

[2] "Naufragios," cap. xviii., p. 22, *ibid.*, Buckingham Smith's trans. Winsor (*Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., pp. 488 and 489) gives two cuts of the bison; the first is possibly the earliest representation known, and is taken from Thevet's *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique*, Antwerp, 1558; the second is a tracing by the Rev. Edward Everett Hale from a sketch made about 1599 by Oñate.

The twelve months of hunger and ill-usage dragged slowly along, and by September the Christians were again assembled at the same place. It could not have been far from the coast, somewhere between the Sabine and Trinity Rivers, before the rugged and semi-mountainous regions in the central part of Texas are reached, by which the land rises to the great level of the Staked Plains to the west and north-west.[2] The three were to start about the middle of the month, picking up Castillo on their way, who had remained with some neighbouring Indians.

The second day after their arrival, Cabeça, Dorantes, and the negro set out on their adventurous journey across Texas and northern Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, the first white men to traverse our northern continent from sea to sea. The same evening they came upon the Avavares, among whom Castillo was living, and passed the night in their village, where Castillo performed a cure by making the sign of the cross, for which he was repaid by gifts of meat and prickly pears. The season for the latter being nearly past, the winter already upon them, and hearing that the country beyond was cold and destitute, the travellers concluded to remain with the tribe until the prickly pears again began to ripen. Soon after the arrival of the Christians, the Avavares set off and encamped upon a river in search of food, in pursuance of the native custom of wandering along the streams for such purpose during the winter season.

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[1] Oviedo, vol. iii., p. 599.

[2] Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 31 and note.

As Castillo proved a timid practitioner in the art of healing, especially "in dangerous cases, believing that his sins would weigh and some day hinder him in performing cures,"[1] Cabeça yielded to the instance of his Indian hosts and himself achieved some marvellous cures, which added greatly to the fame of the party. Among these Avavares, Cabeça and his companions remained eight months, going naked during the day, covering themselves with deer hides at night and casting their bruised and sunburnt skins twice a year like serpents.

Here Cabeça heard the story of a shaman, or medicine-man, who had passed through the country fifteen or sixteen years before, which, for all its extravagance, is remarkable, for the reason that the feat of drawing forth an entrail and cutting off a portion of it is not without a well-attested parallel among the Pawnees of our own day.[2]

> The Indians said "that a man wandered through the country, whom they called Badthing; he was small of body and wore a beard, and they never distinctly saw his features. When he

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[1] "Naufragios," cap. xxii., p. 24, *Historiadores*, tomo i.

[2] "Among the more remarkable performances witnessed and vouched for by my friend, Captain L. H. North, are the following: . . . A small boy, six or eight years of age, was led into the ring quite naked. He was placed upon the ground, and two men sat upon him, one on his chest, the other on his legs. With a knife an incision was made in his belly; one of the doctors inserted his fingers; and after feeling about, pulled out of the cut what looked like a portion of the child's liver. This he cut off and gave to the other man, who ate it. The remainder of the liver was crowded back into the hole, and the boy was carried off. Subsequently he was seen about, apparently in good health."—Grinnell, *Pawnee Hero Stories*, pp. 376-378.

came to the house where they lived, their hair stood up and they trembled. Presently a blazing torch shone at the door, when he entered and seized whom he chose, and giving him three great gashes in the side with a very sharp flint, the width of the hand and two palms in length, he put his hand through them, drawing forth the entrails, from one of which he would cut off a portion more or less the length of a palm, and throw it on the embers. Then he would give three gashes to an arm, the second cut on the inside of an elbow, and would sever the limb. A little after this, he would begin to unite it, and putting his hands on the wounds these would instantly become healed. They said that frequently in the dance he appeared among them, sometimes in the dress of a woman, at others in that of a man; that when it pleased him he would take a *buhio*, or house, and lifting it high, after a little he would come down with it in a heavy fall. They also stated that many times they offered him victuals, but that he never ate; they asked him whence he came and where was his abiding-place, and he showed them a fissure in the earth and said that his house was there below. These things they told us of, we much laughed at and ridiculed; and they seeing our incredulity, brought to us many of those they said he had seized; and we saw the marks of the gashes made in the places according to the manner they had described. We told them," continues Cabeça, that "he was an evil one, and explained as best we could that if they would believe in God our Lord, and become Christians like us, they need have no fear of him . . . and they might be certain he would not venture to appear *while we remained in the land.*"[1]

No wonder that the Avavares treated them kindly during their prolonged stay!

When the prickly pears began again to ripen, the Spaniards again took up their march, and passing from tribe to tribe, joined the Arbadaos, another band dwelling in the interior, among whom they were reduced to such straits of hunger that Cabeça, who was put to scraping and softening skins, would scrape them a great deal and live off the scraps. Something, too, he earned by barter for combs, bows, arrows, and nets of his own making. Travelling westward, and moving farther and farther from the shore, the nights would be passed with the different bands met with on the way, and cures performed, in which now the negro and Dorantes both joined, receiving in return what food the natives would give. Sometimes it was the prickly pear, again it was the flour of the mesquit,[1] a tree growing abundantly in central and southern Texas, the bitter fruit of which the natives pounded and sweetened by mixing it with water and earth, gorging upon the mixture until, says Cabeça, their stomachs became greatly distended with the quantity of earth and water they had swallowed.

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[1] "Naufragios," cap. xxii., p. 25, *ibid.*, Buckingham Smith's trans.

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[1] Oviedo (vol. iii., p. 604) gives the name "mesquite." "Of the family of the *mimosæ*. The tree is not found east of the Mississippi River and is first seen on going west on drawing near the Rio Bravo del Norte."—Buckingham Smith, *Rel.*, p. 143, note. Prince (*ibid.*, p. 75) and Davis (*ibid.*, p. 74) say it is the mesquit. Davis adds, "which is found growing in New Mexico, but is not seen until we approach the Rio del Norte going west." He objects to Buckingham Smith's identification with the sweet locust made in his 1851 edition, on the ground that the Spaniards were now in the mesquit country farther west than the locust tree grows. Dr. Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 287, note 7) says: "The buffalo and mesquit afford tangible means of fixing the limits of his (Cabeça's) route." Bandelier (*Contributions*, p. 56) says it is the *Prosopis juliflora*, and that the description is full and accurate. "As long as they were together on the coast, and even for some time afterward, they place much stress upon several nutritive plants which were characteristic of the vegetation, and at the same time prominent means of subsistence for the Indians. Prominent among these are the mesquit and the cactus or prickly pear. Neither of these plants appears in eastern Texas towards the Indian Territory in any great abundance. . . . Such statements can only apply to southern and central Texas." On p. 52, note 2, he gives the limits of the buffalo range during the sixteenth century, to show that at that time "the buffalo never reached the shores of the Rio Grande del Norte." For these and other reasons stated in the notes, I have accepted the route traced by Mr. Bandelier in preference to those of Smith, Davis, Prince, and others.

Crossing the Trinity River,[1] the Spaniards passed the night at a large Indian town where they were presented with rattles made from gourds, which had floated down the river and were believed to have come from heaven; they were filled with pebbles and were used in the native dances and to effect cures. From here on a curious custom was observed. Their hosts for the night accompanied them to the next stopping-place, where they plundered the villagers, leaving the miracle-working strangers to make good the loss as best they could. At first the Spaniards were decidedly anxious as to the result, for they could do nothing to prevent it. But the plundered Indians submitted without a murmur, thanked the strangers for their presence, entertained them for the night, and escorting them to the next village became in turn the plunderers.

Now the broken and mountainous[2] region of central Texas came in view, the successive ranges of hills running approximately north and south. Skirting the mountains and crossing the plain at their base, the travellers struck the Brazos River,[3] which they followed up to an Indian village, where the usual scene of plunder was repeated and the strangers were announced as children of the sun with power to heal and to destroy. During this part of their journey, two medicine-men presented them with two gourds, probably similar to those already mentioned, which, according to Cabeça, greatly increased their authority. Another gift was a copper bell, on which was engraved a face, which the natives said had been brought from the north.[1] Farther inland, along the base of the ridge, they reached a village on the Colorado, where little bags of maquesite and pulverised antimony, with which to daub their faces, and beads and buffalo robes were given to them, for they were crossing what is now the State of Texas below the range of the buffalo,[2] and did not once meet with them during their entire trip across the continent, although they heard of them frequently when they reached the Rio Grande.

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[1] Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 31, note 2, pp. 51, 52, note 1; "Naufragios," cap. xxvii., p. 29, *Historiadores*, tomo i.; Oviedo, vol. iii., p. 604. I have followed Mr. Bandelier's conclusions, accepting only the rivers mentioned in both reports.

[2] "Naufragios," cap. xxviii., p. 30, *ibid.*; Oviedo, vol. iii., p. 605; Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 37, note 1. That the term "mountains" is appropriate to the hills of central Texas, see G. W. Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition*, in two volumes, vol. i., pp. 38, 100, 103, 107, 143, 149, 154, 201, 203, 207, New York, 1844; "Reconnaissance in New Mexico and Texas," *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 64*, pp. 15, 35, 237, 239, Thirty-first Congress, First Session, Washington, 1850.

[3] Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 31, note 2, pp. 51, 52, note 1.

Here, on the Colorado, the Spaniards saw for the first time flour made from the seed of a cedar[3] or pine somewhat resembling the piñon of New Mexico. Here, too, for the first time, they heard some report of the New Mexican Pueblos, for, on showing the copper bell, the Indians informed them that it came from a people dwelling in fixed habitations. Skirting the southern escarpment of the Staked Plains, the Spaniards advanced unti they reached the Rio Grande, probably below its confluence with the Pecos.[4] As they travelled up its cours they heard of bison to the east, and came to more permanent habitations. Here they obtained more definit reports of the Pueblo Indians to the north, their mantle of cotton and great wealth; but in place of gold an conquest, it was now the forlorn hope of again seeing their own people which lured them on. "We ever held it certain that going towards the sunset we must find what we desired," says Cabeça.[1]

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[1] "Naufragios," cap. xxix., p. 31, *ibid.*, has the word "cobre"; Oviedo vol. iii., p. 606, "laton"; Wm. H. Holmes, in "Ancient Art of the Provinc of Chiriqui," *Sixth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 50, Fig. 42, describes a bronz bell with human features found on the Rio Grande near Panama.

[2] Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 54.

[3] Both Davis (*ibid.*, p. 91) and Prince (*ibid.*, p. 87) call this seed th "piñon," and leave it to be inferred that it is the piñon of New Mexic Bandelier (*Contributions*, p. 57) observes that the seed described by Cabe differs from the New Mexican piñon in having a soft and edible shell. H thinks it is the cedar which occurs in northern Texas, and which is al used by New Mexican tribes.

[4] Bandelier, *ibid.*, p. 55 and note 1.

After many days' travel up the river, Cabeça and his companions crossed it, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Fort Seaton,[2] where the Conchos empties into the Rio Grande.[3] Their route now led them across the arid waste in the central portion of the present State of Chihuahua, until, penetrating the ranges of the Sierra Madre, perhaps through the Pass of Mulatos,[4] the Spaniards encountered in its deep gorges and valleys, amidst the settlements of the Opatas Joras, indications of a civilisation far in advance of any they had yet met with. The houses were constructed of palm leaves tressed and plaited, or of earth. Maize, pumpkins, beans, grain, meal, and cotton mantles were plentiful. In place of naked savages, the women were clothed in long cotton shirts, over which they wore half-sleeves, with skirts of dressed deerskin reaching to the ground and fastened in front with leather straps. Moccasins were worn, and the natives washed their garments with the saponaceous root of the bayonet plant.[5] There were "emeralds"[6] and turquoise[1] obtained from the country to the north in exchange for the plumes of the parrot.[2] The sign language was found to be in use among them, the most widely extended means of intercommunication which then existed and still exists among our North American Indians, and by its means Cabeça and his party were able to make themselves understood. He himself must have learned it in eastern Texas.

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[1] "Naufragios," cap. xxxi., p. 35, *ibid.*; Oviedo, vol. iii., p. 608.

[2] On Mitchell's *New National Map* (Philadelphia, 1856), it is called "Fort Leaton."

[3] Bandelier, *Contributions*, pp. 54, 60.

[4] Bandelier, *ibid.*, pp. 60 *et seq.*

[5] Prince (*ibid.*, p. 82), calls it "the soap-weed," *Yuca filamentosa;* also called the Spanish bayonet and *amolé*. Davis (*ibid.*, p. 101, note) says it is the root of a species of palm tree, which is spongy and fibrous, containing mucilaginous and alkaline matter. *Amolé* is the New Mexican name, and there are two kinds, the *amolé pelota* and the *amolé largo*. He adds, "I do not know that it is found out of New Mexico."

[6] Davis (*ibid.*, p. 100) says these were obtained in the country of the Navajo Indians between the San Juan and Colorado Chiquito rivers, where garnets and a green stone resembling the emerald are found in great quantities.

From the western slopes of the Sierra Madre the travellers found their way into the valley of the Sonora in central Sonora, where they halted for a time in a village of the Southern Pimas to which they gave the name of Los Corazones, the Town of Hearts,[3] because the natives there presented them with a great quantity of deer hearts. Following down the river, a day's journey farther south, Castillo saw the buckle of a sword's belt on the neck of an Indian and stitched to it a horseshoe nail. What mingled fears and hopes the sight of these bits of metal awakened can be readily imagined, but proceeding with the utmost caution and feigning the greatest indifference they ascertained by dint of questioning that certain men, bearded like themselves, with horses, lances, and swords had come from heaven to the river, lanced two Indians, and then plunging beneath the sea, had again reappeared upon its surface travelling towards the sunset. "For this we gave many thanks to God our Lord. We had before despaired of ever hearing more of Christians."

"In great doubt and anxiety, thinking those people were mere persons who had come by sea on discoveries" the Spaniards hastened forward in the direction of the Rio

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[1] Possibly from the famous turquoise mines of the Cerillos, which were worked by the natives.

[2] "A species of large green parrots inhabits the pine forests of the Sierra Madre as far north as latitude 30°."—Bandelier, *ibid.*, p. 62.

[3] "Naufragios," cap. xxxii., p. 36, *ibid.*; Oviedo, vol. iii., p. 610; see Appendix K, in this volume, "Los Corazones."

Petatlan in Sinaloa in search of more exact information. This they soon acquired. On every side the little band saw evidence of the neighbourhood of their compatriots. "The sight was one of infinite pain to us, a land very fertile and beautiful, abounding in springs and streams, the hamlets deserted and burned, the people thin and weak, all fleeing and in concealment" for fear of the slave hunters who had been among them, "carrying away half the men and all the women and boys."[1] At last, in the neighbourhood of the river, Cabeça overtook a party consisting of Diego de Alcaraz and twenty men, four of them on horseback, out on a slave-hunting foray.

Parting with their Indian friends, Cabeça and his companions were escorted for some distance by part of Alcaraz's band. Travelling by way of Culiacan and San Miguel, Melchior Diaz, alcalde of the latter place, received them "with great humanity" and with tears,[2] "praising God for the marvellous things these hidalgos had performed."[3] They soon reached Compostela, the chief town of the province of New Galicia, where the governor, Nuño de Guzman, had his residence. The governor received them with much kindness and gave them some of his own clothing for their use; but so accustomed had the wayfarers become to their savage mode of existence that Cabeça says, "I could not wear any for some time, nor could we sleep anywhere else but on the ground."[4]

On Sunday, the 24th of July, 1536, the four at last reached the City of Mexico, where they were handsomely treated by the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza, and by Cortés, the marquis del Valle. On the following day, that of Santiago, the patron saint of Spain, there was a celebration and a joust of reeds with bulls. They were indeed once more among their own people. They had spent ten months in the journey from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific slope in Sinaloa.[1]

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[1] "Naufragios," cap. xxxii., p. 37, *Historiadores*, tomo i.

[2] Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 6, lib., i., cap. vii., p. 10.

[3] Oviedo, vol. iii., p. 613.

[4] "Naufragios," cap. xxxvi., p. 41, *ibid.*

During Cabeça's stay in the City of Mexico he and Dorantes busied themselves in writing to the Royal Audiencia of Hispaniola a joint report of the fate of Narvaez's expedition and of their own subsequent wanderings. This is no longer supposed to exist, but from it was prepared the narrative given by the contemporary historian Oviedo. Cabeça's own relation was printed first at Zamora in 1542.[2] They also prepared and left with the viceroy a map of the region they had traversed.[3] Finally, Cabeça and Dorantes[4] concluded to return to Spain. The vessel with Dorantes on board put back to port, and, at the solicitation of the viceroy, he remained in Mexico;[5] but Cabeça, shipping from Vera Cruz, reached the Port of Lisbon on the 9th of August, 1537, after a series of adventures at the hands of a French corsair. Arrived in Spain, he was promptly summoned to Court, and proceeding to Valladolid, where the emperor Charles V. was, he made his report and presented to his royal master a bison hide, a few "emeralds," and some turquoise collected in his strange peregrinations.

Gloomy and discouraging as is Cabeça's description both in his relation and in the joint report of the expedition from Tampa to Appalachee Bay; barren and inhospitable as he pictures the regions of Texas traversed by himself and companions; devoid of all promise of gold or jewels, rich kingdoms, or populous cities except in the vague reports heard by him when on the Rio Grande, and the traces of mineral wealth which he observed within territory properly appurtenant to that of the Viceroy Mendoza, there must yet have been details in the story as he related it at Court to inflame the ambition and greed of the courtiers and soldiers about him, who lent an attentive ear to every promise of successful achievement in the New World. "Generally," says the "Gentleman of Elvas,"[1] "he reported the miserie of the Countrie, and the troubles which hee passed," while he affected secrecy as to other matters which he had sworn to reveal only to the emperor.

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[1] Oviedo, vol. iii., p. 604; Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 48.

[2] *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., pp. 286, 499.

[3] Buckingham Smith, *Rel.*, Introduction.

[4] C. F. Lummis (*The Spanish Pioneers*, p. 115) says Castillo sailed with them, but gives no authority. H. H. Bancroft (*North Am. States*, vol. i., p. 70) says he remained in Mexico. In the text I have followed Cabeça's narrative.

[5] Mendoza's letter to Charles V. of December 10, 1537, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 136.

Cabeça never returned to Mexico nor renewed his acquaintance with the country that had proved so adverse to all previous Spanish enterprise. His was a life destined from the outset to experience in all their bitterness "the stings and arrows of outrageous fortune," the common fate of most Spanish discoverers. In spite of his strange story and the strong recommendation which he brought with him from the viceroy of Mexico, he was unsuccessful in his efforts to obtain the governorship of Florida, which Hernando de Soto had secured for himself over three months before Cabeça had set foot in Spain. After a lapse of three years Cabeça was commissioned to reduce the Pariembos, a fierce tribe of Paraguay Indians living on the great plains bordering on the Rio de la Plata, who had already destroyed the first Spanish commander sent against them.

For the empty titles of governor, captain-general, and adelantado of the territories he should conquer, Cabeça expended all there was of his own private fortune. Arrived at his destination, he again showed the same enterprise and determination in action, and the same kindly disposition towards the natives exhibited in his previous conduct in the northern hemisphere; but his evil star was ever in the ascendant. Seized upon and cast into chains by his enemies in that distant colony, Cabeça was sent to Spain, where he languished six years in prison awaiting the decision of the Council of the Indies. At last it came in the shape of a condemnation which stripped him of all the titles for which he had so unwisely expended his fortune, and sent him an exile into Africa; but uncertainty hangs over his subsequent career and the date of his death; it is probable that the condemnation was never carried into effect.[1]

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[1] *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 546.

Castillo and Dorantes also disappeared from view, leaving but scant subsequent mention of what became of them. De Soto, however, heard some tidings of the Greek lost at Pensacola Bay. Estevanico, the Arabian negro, who had been left behind in Mexico, was alone of all the survivors of Narvaez's expedition destined to play a part in the future discoveries of our territory and to live in Indian legend down to our own day.

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[1] Buckingham Smith, *Rel.*, p. 251, note; Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 27 and note 1; G. P. Winship (in *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 349) says: "He certainly was not punished, and soon settled down in Seville, where he was living, apparently, twenty years later."

CHAPTER IV

HERNANDO DE SOTO AND THE MISSISSIPPI

HERNANDO DE SOTO, who had successfully anticipated Cabeça de Vaca in securing the governorship of Florida, was now in his thirty-sixth or thirty-seventh year. "He was a gentleman by all four descents,"[1] that is, the parents of his father and mother were of gentle blood,[2] and thus entitled to enter the noble order of Santiago, into which the emperor admitted him before his departure for Florida.[3] He was born in Villa Nueva de Barcarrota,[4] either at the very end of the fifteenth or at the opening of the sixteenth century. "Without anything else of his owne, saue his sword and target"[6] he had accompanied Pedrarias de Avila to the West Indies, served under him in Nicaragua, and eventually married his daughter, Doña Isabel, by which alliance he had become brother-in-law to Nuñez de Balboa, the ill-fated discoverer of the Pacific. Subsequently, he arrived at great distinction in the conquest of Peru, whither he had followed the fortunes of Pizarro, and had achieved the honour of being reckoned among the twelve conquerors of that country and one of the four bravest captains who had gone to the West Indies.[1] Observing that discord had begun to show itself between the Almagros and Pizarros, says Herrera,[2] he had resolved to return to Spain, and was now making his first appearance at Court, lavishly spending the great fortune of over one hundred thousand dollars which he had received as his share of the Inca's spoils, for he was one of the wealthiest of all those who had returned to his native country,[3] and was even said to have loaned money to the Emperor Charles V.[4]

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[1] Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca*, lib. v., 1ª pte., cap. vii., p. 208, Madrid, 1723, "Hijodalgo de todos quatro costados."

[2] Theodore Irving, *The Conquest of Florida*, vol. i., p. 35, Philadelphia, 1835.

[3] Oviedo, vol. i., p. 544.

[4] Elvas (*Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 544) says Xerez de Badajos was his birthplace. Garcilaso (*ibid.* lib. v., 1ª pte., cap. viii., p. 208) and Herrera (vol. iii., dec. 6, lib. vii., cap. ix., p. 160) both give Barcarrota.

[5] The Elvas narrative (*Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 23) does not state his age, but gives the date of his death as May 21, 1542. Garcilaso (*ibid.* lib. v., 1ª pte., cap. vii., p. 208) says he died June 20, 1542, at the age of forty-two, which is also the age given by Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 7, lib. vii., cap. iii., p. 134. Lummis (*Spanish Pioneers*, p. 73) gives 1496 as the date of his birth, but without mentioning any authority.

[6] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 544.

De Soto was at this time in the flower of his age, of a fine presence, being a little above the medium height, and having an agreeable though somewhat swarthy face. He was a skilful horseman, dexterous in all warlike exercises, of strong constitution fitted to endure hardships, and of ripe experience in the conduct of Indian campaigns.[5] He was surrounded by stewards, ushers, equerries, and pages, all the glitter and pageant of the household of a rich nobleman, displaying the magnificent gifts the Inca Atahualpa had lavished upon him,[6] for his manly and courteous address had endeared him to the royal captive.

Small wonder that with the prestige of his wealth and courage, and with all the restless ambition of a young and successful soldier, who chafed under the iron rules of Court etiquette, he should have looked about him for another Peru to conquer and despoil. The failure of the Narvaez expedition was already known at Court, but the rumours of Cabeça's wonderful escape from the doomed company could hardly have reached Spain when De Soto made application for the governorship of Florida and of Ayllon's abandoned territory, coupled with that of the island of Cuba, from which as a base he could superintend his conquests.

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[1] Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. i., pp. 1–2, and lib. ii., 1ª pte., cap. xxii.

[2] Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 6, lib. vii., cap. ix., p. 160.

[3] Oviedo, vol. i., p. 547; Lummis (*ibid.*, p. 263) estimates 17,749 "pesos de oro" and 724 "marks" of silver at about the sum given in the text.

[4] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 545.

[5] Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 7, lib. vii., cap. ii., p. 134.

[6] Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. i., p. 2.

On the 20th of April, 1537, there was executed at Valladolid a royal *asiento* and capitulation between De Soto and the emperor,[1] in which was conferred upon him the authority to "conquer, pacify, and people" the territory from the Province of the Rio de las Palmas to Florida and beyond, the provinces whose government had been granted to the licentiate Ayllon, the vast region extending from near the Tropic of Cancer to Cape Fear, covering over twelve degrees of latitude. To this was joined the governorship of the island of Cuba, with the customary titles and privileges. The wise monarch granted him twelve leagues square of the country he was to conquer, provided it should not include a seaport or the chief town of the territory; and allowed him to import free of duty one hundred negro slaves, one third of whom should be women, fifty of their number to go to Cuba, and the remainder to the new territory. With the cumulative experience acquired in dealing with the treasure stores of Mexico and Peru, the emperor retained one half of all gold, silver, jewels, pearls, and other objects that should be found in places of burial, sepulchres, Indian temples, localities where sacrifices were made to idols, and other secret religious places, but gave De Soto one sixth of all ransoms obtained from chiefs and caciques, the remainder to be distributed among the conquerors, reserving first the king's fifth. Lawyers were forbidden to enter the country for the purpose of practising their profession.[1] Provision was also made to endow a hospital for the poor.

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[1] *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 140.

De Soto was to start on his undertaking within the year following the issue of the grant, with an armament of five hundred men besides the royal officials, the monks, and the necessary equipments, the whole to be at his own expense. All salaries and endowments, as well for religious as for secular purposes, were levied upon the future revenues of the new state, except that of De Soto as governor of Cuba. These provisions of the *asiento* give some insight into the unbounded expectations of the young adventurer.

Nearly three months later Cabeça de Vaca landed at Lisbon, and soon the atmosphere of the Court was full of his strange story; for it was gossiped about that he had told the emperor that "after hee had found clothes made of cotton wooll, hee saw gold and siluer, and stones of great value."[2] The knowledge that he had informed some of his kinsfolk that "it was the richest Countrie in the world;" his advice to them to sell their goods and go with De Soto, as in so doing they would all do well, coupled with his own reserve as to the other matters which were for the emperor's ear alone—all combined to fire the imagination as well of the noblemen about him as of the spendthrift adventurers just returned from Peru with coffers full of their ill-gotten gold, and of the soldiers out of employment fresh from the Italian wars. Cabeça himself refused to accompany the new adventure, although De Soto was very eager to have him and made him a favourable offer, which he at first accepted; but later Cabeça broke the agreement on the ground that the sum offered was insufficient, and mindful of his early experience with Narvaez added that "hee was loth to goe under the command of another."[1] As we have seen in a preceding chapter he ultimately was sent as governor to La Plata.

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[1] *Col. Doc. Fla.*, p. 144.

[2] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 34.

Rendezvous was given at Seville, and thither volunteers trooped from Spain and from Portugal, many of them persons of noble birth, others adventurers returned from Peru. Official positions were surrendered to enable the incumbents to take part in the enterprise, and in some cases even the wives of the men accompanied them. The gambler's spirit took possession of others, for the stakes were of the highest, and houses, vineyards, church-rents, and even a town of vassals were sold to raise money for the purchase and equipment of ships. De Soto led the company which had gathered at Seville to the seaport of San Lucar. There, says a Portuguese gentleman who accompanied him and became one of the historians of the expedition,

> "he commanded a muster to be made, at which the Portugales shewed themselues armed in verie bright armour, and the Castellans very gallant with silke vpon silke, with many pinkings and cuts. The Gouernour, because these brauaries in such an action did not like him, commanded that they should muster another day, and euery one should come foorth with his armour; at the which the Portugales came as at the first armed with very good armour. The Gouernour placed them in order neere vnto the standard which the ensigne-bearer carried. The Castellanes for the most part did weare very bad and rustie shirts of maile, and all of them head peeces and steele cappes, and very bad lances."[2]

On the 6th of April, 1538, De Soto set sail from San Lucar with a fleet of seven large and three small vessels,[3] upon the equipment of which he had spent a great part of his own fortune, and so great was the company assembled that "many men who had sold their goods, remained behind for want of shipping."[1] Besides the soldiers, of which there were at least six hundred,[2] there were several priests and monks, Luis Hernandez de Biedma the royal factor, Juan de Añasco the auditor, and Juan Gaytan the treasurer. In company with him and under his command as far as Cuba went a fleet of twenty sail destined for Mexico.

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[1] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 546.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 548.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 549; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. vi., p. 9; Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 6, lib. vii., cap. ix., p. 160. Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 548, says he had bought seven vessels.

On Whitsunday, in the latter part of May, De Soto reached the port of Santiago in Cuba,[3] where he proceeded to collect further materials for the expedition, such as horses, which the Cubans raised and sold in considerable numbers to Mexico and Peru, provisions of cassava bread, salt meat and swine, and additional recruits, Spaniards, negroes, Indians, and domestics; then the army was brought round to the port of Havana from whence it was to sail, De Soto having in the meanwhile visited all the posts of the island of which he was now governor.[4] Meanwhile, Juan de Añasco had been twice dispatched to reconnoitre the Florida coast in search of a suitable port,[5] from whence he had returned on his second voyage with two natives captured on the coast, who were to serve as interpreters.

Everything was now ready for the departure, and De Soto, committing the government of the island during his absence to Juan de Roias, and leaving his wife in Cuba, set sail for Florida on Sunday, May 18, 1539.[6]

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[1] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 547.

[2] *Ibid.;* Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. iv., p. 8, says 950 persons were gathered at San Lucar ready to embark.

[3] Elvas, *ibid.*, p. 549; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. viii., p. 11.

[4] Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. xi., pp. 16–17.

[5] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 554; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. xiii., p. 18.

[6] Elvas, *ibid.;* Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. xv., p. 22; Lettre écrite par l'Adelantade De Soto, etc., in *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, p., 3.

Being becalmed on his passage, he did not reach the coast until Whitsunday, the 25th, and even then was delayed three days more in finding the port owing to the carelessness of his pilots.[1] On board the nine vessels of his fleet, besides six hundred lancers, targeteers, crossbowmen, and arquebusiers, all suitably armed, were two hundred and thirteen horses,[2] some of which traversed to the bitter end the vast region which De Soto explored, where the survivors were finally sacrificed to the stern necessities of their famished masters. There were also greyhounds to give chase to fugitives, and execute summary punishment upon delinquents by tearing them to pieces,[3] and swine to provide food for the soldiers. There were priests and Dominican friars with all the necessary ornaments for the service of the mass; a surgeon, medicines, a cooper, a ship's carpenter, and caulkers; and there were portable forges, for there were swords and armour, chains for captives, and iron slave-collars to be repaired when needed.

The bay into which the fleet had entered and which De Soto named Espiritu Santo, after the day on which he reached the coast, was the same Tampa Bay in which Narvaez had disembarked, and the landing was probably made at Gadsden's Point,[4] but a few miles from an

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[1] Lettre écrite par l'Adelantade De Soto, in *ibid.*

[2] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 548; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. xv., p. 21, says there were 1000 men and 350 horses; Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 47; Oviedo (vol. i., p. 545) says 570 men, not including the sailors, and in all nearly 700 men, and (p. 546) 243 horses; he adds (p. 548) that artillery was also carried on the vessels.

[3] Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. ii., 1ª pte., cap. xviii., p. 50; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 547.

[4] Fairbanks's *Hist. of Florida* (pp. 53, 73), Irving (*Conquest of Florida*, vol. i., p. 54), Shipp (*De Soto and Florida*, p. 257, note), and French (*Hist. Col. La.*, vol. ii., p. 97) all agree on Tampa Bay; Oviedo (vol. i., p. 546) says the place where they disembarked was ten leagues west of the Bay of Juan Ponce; Dr. Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 245) follows Oviedo. The marginal note in *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 555, places the landing-place in 29° 39'. I have followed Fairbanks.

Indian town belonging to a chief called Hirrihigua, of which there still remains the artificial mound on which his house was built. The Spaniards shortly moved to a small village called Utica, at the foot of the bay. They found the country deserted by the Indians, who at the sight of the approaching fleet had kindled signal fires along the coast, the smoke of which had been observed from the vessels. Scarcely had the Spaniards landed, when the two natives captured by Añasco to act as interpreters made their escape. De Soto promptly sent out two reconnoitring parties to explore the country and to capture some natives to supply the loss of the interpreters; they were also to seek for a Christian captive of whose existence among the Indians he had been informed upon landing. June 3rd, De Soto took formal possession with all of the usual ceremonies.[1]

Baltazar de Gallegos, kinsman of Cabeça de Vaca, and captain of one of the parties, after a severe march of ten days through bog and swamp returned with the Christian. He proved to be a certain Juan Ortiz, of Seville, one of Narvaez's unfortunate companions. He had been enticed ashore by the Indians, and captured and enslaved by the cacique of the town where De Soto was encamped. Set by his master to protect their dead from the ravages of wild beasts, he had killed a wolf which had carried off the body of a child; this somewhat mitigated the hardships of his captivity, but, the cacique having finally condemned him to be slain, Ortiz, assisted by a daughter of his master, escaped to a neighbouring chief who had taken pity upon him. With this chief he remained until the arrival of the Spaniards, having almost forgotten his mother tongue during his twelve years of captivity.[2]

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[1] Oviedo, vol. i., p. 546.

[2] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 557; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. ii., 1ª pte., caps. i.–iv., pp. 25–29; Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 47; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 546; Lettre écrite par l'Adelantade, in *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, p. 43.

When Ortiz arrived in camp, he was at once supplied with clothes, a suit of armour, and a good horse. Asked if he knew of any region where gold could be found, Ortiz replied that he did not, but indicated a country thirty leagues from the bay, more fruitful and plentiful in maize, whose lord was named Paracosi. This was an Indian word signifying *chief*, and was not a personal name, nor that of a locality. Mistakes of this nature, arising from ignorance of the language, were frequently made by the Spanish narrators.

The other exploring expedition under Lobillo had in the meantime also returned. It had found in the Indian an enemy so agile that neither arquebusier nor crossbowman could follow him with his aim; so expert with his bow that while the arquebusier was delivering a single shot he could discharge his long cane arrows, tipped with stone or fish-bone, two and three times, with a precision that rarely failed, splitting the joints of the armour, passing through the targets, and penetrating as deeply as a crossbow shot into the unprotected parts of his adversary.[1] Lobillo had also encountered bogs and swamps through which the horses could not travel.

On the return of a third exploring party under Gallegos, sent to the province of Paracosi, with the report of a province called Cale to the westward, where there was much gold, De Soto determined to set out for Cale; for Gallegos had been directed to send two reports, the one calculated to flatter the expectation of the army, the other a secret one to the general, relating the true condition of the country.[2] Before his departure De Soto sent his ships back to Cuba for provisions. With them went Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, who had come out to capture slaves for his mines, but, finding the bogs and woods a poor country for the chase of such game, returned to Cuba, greatly disappointed, and exclaiming, "Hurri Harri, Hurri Higa, Burra coja, Hurri Harri! The devil take a land where the first words are so frightful!"[1] The returning vessels carried with them a letter from the governor addressed to the municipal authorities of Santiago de Cuba, in which De Soto gave an account of his landing and of what had occurred up to the time of the return of the fleet. He mentioned the report of a rich province brought in by the natives, but added cautiously, "Of all that the Indians tell me I believe nothing but what I see with my own eyes, although I have threatened them with death if they deceive me."[2]

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[1] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 557; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 550.

[2] Oviedo, vol. i., p. 548.

Leaving Calderon at Tampa, with a garrison of thirty horses and fifty footmen, and provisions for two years, De Soto set out on his long journey into the interior on August 1, 1539. First travelling to the east, and then north-west, he reached Paracosi, and continued his advance over a low, thickly wooded country full of bogs and swamps, through which he had great difficulty in pushing his way. The small rivers were crossed on trees felled for the purpose, and the horses were swum over. At the very outset the company began to suffer from want of food and soon began to experience the wiles of the Indians, who attacked them from ambush at the river crossings. At Cale,[3] probably in the neighbourhood of the Suwanee River, the soldiers, who had failed to capture any slaves, were content to beat the maize which they had gathered, in mortars made of timber, while others sifted the meal through their shirts of mail.[4]

Here they rested a while, and on the seventeenth reached Caliquen, where information was obtained of the "Province of Apalache," north of Appalachee Bay, from whence they were informed Narvaez had embarked on his disastrous sea voyage to Panuco. The Spaniards, already sufficiently experienced in the hardships of their undertaking, became dispirited at this news, and counselled the governor to return, lest they should all perish like Narvaez, but De Soto sternly replied that "he would not go back, till he had seene with his eies that which they reported."[1]

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[1] Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. ii., 1ª pte., cap. xi., p. 39.

[2] Lettre écrite par l'Adelantade, in *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, p. 47.

[3] Oviedo, vol. i., p. 550.

[4] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 564.

De Soto had early put in practice a system of dealing with the natives in order to secure his own safety, which he continued without deviation throughout his expedition. By fair means or foul he obtained possession of the local chief through whose territory he was passing, held him as hostage during his transit, and compelled him to provide native carriers, male and female, for his paraphernalia and food for his troops. An attempt to rescue the chief of Caliquen, whom De Soto held in this manner, was the occasion of his first serious encounter with the Indians. At a town called Napatuca, which was reached on the 15th of September, Ortiz, who accompanied the army as interpreter, notified De Soto that an attack would be made for such a purpose. On the day set for the rescue, De Soto commanded the men to be in readiness, the horsemen armed and mounted, each one remaining concealed in his own lodging, for they occupied the huts in the town, in order to take the Indians unawares. The latter, four hundred in number, says Biedma, came in sight of the camp with their bows and arrows, and stationing themselves in the woods, sent two messengers to bid the governor deliver up their chief. De Soto met them with their own cunning; taking the chief by the hand, and accompanied by six footmen, he approached the Indians, as if with the intention of surrendering his hostage, until, seeing a proper opportunity, he ordered the trumpet to sound, whereupon the camp master Moscoso shouted the war-cry, "At them, horsemen,

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[1] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 566.

Santiago, Santiago!"[1] and the Spaniards charged with such vigour that the Indians were speedily routed, several slain, and a number driven for refuge into two neighbouring lakes.

One of these lakes the Spaniards quickly surrounded. During the night the Indians attempted to escape by concealing their heads under lily-pads and swimming softly to the banks; but they were driven back, and on the following morning many of them were easily captured, put into chains, and divided among the Spaniards for their service.[2] In this battle De Soto himself led the attack, for it was his custom to encourage others by his example, and to go first, headlong into danger. When his horse Azeituno was killed under him in the combat, for the Indians especially directed their attacks against the horses, thinking it more to their advantage to kill a horse than a man, De Soto mounted another belonging to his page.

This was followed by a revolt of the enslaved Indians, who rose against the Spaniards, and, having possessed themselves of the arms of their captors, made a bold strike for liberty. One of their number, appointed to slay De Soto, gave him so violent a blow in the face as to draw the blood. But the attempt was all in vain; the revolt was suppressed: some of the youngest of the unlucky natives were given to those of the army who had good chains, and all the others were bound to stakes in the village square and put to death by order of De Soto. It was a cruel but presumably a necessary measure. Throughout the entire expedition never once did De Soto hesitate to exercise an inflexible severity, in one instance commanding the death of one of his own followers.[3] But while he unquestionably showed himself a stern and cruel man whenever he believed it necessary to his safety to make himself feared by the natives, at no time in his perilous situation, in the midst of a wild and unknown country, savage and determined foes, guides heroically sacrificing their own lives in repeated attempts to mislead and betray him, hundreds of miles from his base with no succour within reach under many weeks, does he appear to have slain or tortured his foes in mere wantonness; there was always a strategical reason for the exercise of his cruelty.

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[1] Oviedo, vol. i., p. 552.

[2] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 566.

[3] Oviedo, vol. i., p. 553.

Leaving the scene of the recent Indian uprising, and still following the coast at a distance of some twenty-five or thirty miles inland, De Soto reached "Anica Apalache," an Indian town in the neighbourhood of Tallahassee,[1] about thirty miles from the sea, and not far distant from, if not the same as, the "Apalache" where Narvaez turned towards the Gulf. It was the end of October, and finding the place rich in maize, pumpkins, and other vegetables, he determined to winter there.

A hundred Indian men and women had accompanied his march

> "in chaines with yron collars about their neckes: and they serued to carrie their stuffe, and to grind their Maiz, and for other seruices that such captiues should doe. Sometimes it happened that going for wood or Maiz with them, they killed the Christian that led them, and ran away with the chaine: others filed their chaines by night with a peece of stone, wherewith they cut them, and vse it in stead of yron. Those that were perceiued paid for themselues, and for the rest, because they should not dare to doe the like another time."[2]

Even the "Gentleman of Elvas" seems to shudder at the coin in which "those that were perceiued" paid for themselves and others.

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[1] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 48, calls it Iniahico; Garcilaso, *La Florida del Inca*, lib. ii., 2ª pte., cap. iv., p. 75, Anica Apalache; see also Pickett, *Hist. Alabama*, vol. i., p. 5, and C. C. Jones, Jr., *Hernando de Soto*, p. 8, Savannah, 1880.

[2] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 569.

The company remained at "Anica Apalache" until the early part of March of the following year (1540), during which an expedition under Añasco was sent to Tampa Bay to bring up Calderon; another to the west under Maldonado, who discovered Pensacola Bay,[1] and a third to the seacoast, where it "found a great tree felled, and cut into peeces, with stakes set up like mangers, and saw the skulles of horses. . . . And that was held for certaine, which was reported of Pamphilo de Naruaez, that there he had builded the barkes, wherewith he went out of the land of Florida, and was cast away at sea." The third party had come upon the Bay of Horses.

Among the Indians captured at Napetuca was a young man, who described a country to the east (Cufitatchiqui on the Savannah River), governed by a woman. The captive said that

> "the towne where she was resident was of a wonderful bignesse, and that many lords round about were tributaries to her; and some gaue her clothes, and others gold in abundance; and hee told how it was taken out of the mines, and was moulten and refined, as if he had seene it done, or the diuel had taught it him."[2]

So thither the governor turned his steps; but before leaving, Maldonado was dispatched to Havana for provisions[3] and a place of meeting set for the summer at Pensacola Bay.

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[1] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 53, calls it Chuse; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. ii., 2ª pte., cap. xxii., p. 102, Achusi; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 571, Ochus. Oviedo, vol. i., p. 554; Pickett (*Hist. Alabama*, vol. i., p. 5), Shipp (*De Soto*, p. 334), Fairbanks (*Hist. Florida*, p. 64), Irving (*Conquest of Florida*, vol. i., p. 222), Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 246), Martin (*Hist. La.*, pp. 35, 99, 1882 edition), French (*Hist. Col. La.*, vol. ii., pp. 99, 102), and Barcia (*Ensayo*, fol. 308, Año MDCXCII) all agree upon Pensacola Bay; and see in this volume, p. 189, note.

[2] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 570, 572; Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 49; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 554.

[3] Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. ii., 2ª pte., cap. xxiii., p., 102; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 554.

On the 3rd of March, 1540, De Soto broke up his winter quarters and set out in a north-easterly direction from Appalachee across what is now the State of Georgia. This time the horse and foot were themselves compelled to carry their provisions, for the captive Indians, being naked and in chains, had for the most part died during the winter. Following the Indian trails,[1] by which their native guides conducted them when not seeking to mislead them, the Spaniards tramped through swamp and marsh, then through great pine forests, crossed the Ockmulgee, the Oconee, and the Ogeechee, the horsemen carrying the foot-soldiers mounted behind them, fording the smaller rivers and passing the larger rivers on boats guided by chains made fast to the banks on both sides. At other times, in default of boats when a river having a strong current was to be crossed, the cavalry formed a cordon across, each mounted on his horse, and received the impetus of the current, thus enabling the foot to swim over below the cordon, clinging to the tails and manes of the horses.[2]

They proclaimed to the astonished Creeks that their leader was a child of the sun,[3] and set up a great wooden cross in the village of one of the chiefs. They feasted upon the Indian dogs,[4] esteeming them "as if they had been fat wethers," for in their deprivation of salt and half-famished state "he that could get one and kill it, thought himselfe no small man."[5] They observed the change in the construction of the dwellings, the towns with their squares, council-houses, and granaries, the Creek women with mantles draped over the shoulder and under the arm, like the wandering Spanish gypsies,[1] the deerskin breeches of the men, and the leather shoes, probably like the moccasins of to-day.

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[1] That De Soto followed Indian trails, see Oviedo, vol. i., pp. 546, 549, 550.

[2] Oviedo, vol. i., p. 563.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 558.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 562, says that at Cufitatchiqui they ate little dogs, which did not bark, and which were raised in the houses for food. He adds that they tasted very good. May they not have been opossums, as suggested by Buckingham Smith?

[5] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 575.

The middle of April found them in a more fruitful country. Here the youthful guide of the governor began to foam at the mouth and tumble on the ground like one possessed with the devil. "They said a gosple over him, and the fit left him"[2] but his misfortunes were not yet ended. Having misled the party in a trail to the northwest, which finally lost itself, he would have been cast to the dogs had he not been the only native whose language Ortiz understood. Scouting parties were now sent out in different directions, and on the 26th of April De Soto came upon a little town where four Indians were captured, one of whom he commanded to be burned, whereupon another confessed that at a distance of two days' journey was a province called Cufitatchiqui.

In the latter part of the same month De Soto arrived at a town bearing the same name as this province and inhabited by the Yuchee Indians, whose territory probably extended up the Savannah River as far as the Cherokee Mountains in northern Georgia. It was situated upon the Savannah River, at a locality now named Silverbluff, about twenty-five miles below Augusta.[3] Here he was received with much state by the native queen,[1] who went out to meet him in her barge, with mats and cushions on the floor, and attended by her principal men. She treated the strangers with great friendship, and so captivated them with her womanly tact and charm[2] that they even forgot to ask her name; she sent them food, mantles, and skins, and presented De Soto with a great necklace of pearls so long that it encircled her neck three times and descended to her waist.[3] Perceiving the value put upon these by her guests, the queen advised De Soto to search certain graves which were within the town, from which the Spaniards obtained a great number of pearls[4] in the shape of little Indian toys, dolls, and birds, but which were of small value, for they were discoloured by burial and by the fire used in opening the shells in obtaining them. Some, however, were reserved to send to Havana, where their value was known, as samples of the product of the country. Here also were found a dagger and beads which had belonged to Christians, who, the Indians reported, had visited a haven within two days' journey

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[1] "Como aquellos bohemianos ó egipçianos que suelen algunas veçes andar vagabundos por España," Oviedo, vol. i., p. 557; C. C. Jones, Jr. (*Hernando de Soto*, p. 11), thinks that the flax-like fibre with which some of these mantles were made by beating a certain grass, was the tough silk grass of the region.

[2] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 576; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 558.

[3] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 50, calls it Cofitachyque; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. xi., pp. 125 *et seq.*, Cofachiqui; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 580, Cutifa-Chiqui. Pickett (*ibid.*, vol. i., p. 6), citing Bartram's *Travels* (p. 315), states that "All Indian tradition locates this town at the modern Silver Bluff," "and this tradition agrees with that preserved by other old traders." Jones, Jr. (*Hernando de Soto*, p. 27), is of Pickett's opinion, and on p. 29 cites authorities who agree with him; he is followed by Dr. Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 247). Irving (*ibid.*, vol. i., p.

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284) says: "No very great distance from the seacoast of Georgia or South Carolina. . . . The river has been variously conjectured to be the Ocone, the Ogeeghee, and the Savannah." Fairbanks (*ibid.*, p. 61) says: "Near the Atlantic coast in South Carolina." French (*Hist. Col. La.*, vol. ii., p. 101) locates Cufitatchiqui "in the Cherokee country, and probably on the Hiwassee or Tennessee River." Shipp (*ibid.*, pp. 357, 677) selects "the Savannah River." Gatschet (*Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 18) gives to the Yuchi territory the extent mentioned in the text. Thomas ("Burial Mounds," *Fifth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 95) says the inhabitants were Creek Indians, and that the territory of the queen included Xualla probably in Nacoochee valley and Guaxule on the head waters of the Coosa.

[1] The widow of a chief invested with his authority, of which there was no similar instance among the Creek towns (Gatschet, *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 19).

[2] "Mucha graçia y desenvoltura," Oviedo, vol. i., p. 561.

[3] Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. xi., p. 125; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 561.

[4] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 52; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 580.

of the town. The Spaniards took them to be relics of Ayllon's expedition.[1]

One other noteworthy incident marked the two-weeks' stay at Cufitatchiqui, the conversion of the youthful guide, who requested that he might be baptised, for he desired to become a Christian. So they christened him and named him Peter, "and the Governor commanded him to be loosed from a chaine, in which vntil that time he had gone."[2] Poor boy! how the Christian's chain must have added to the weight of the priest's reasoning. Although the climate was temperate, the soil fruitful, and his companions were well satisfied to remain and settle there, De Soto "was not content with a good country nor with pearls."

On the 3rd of May, De Soto set out on a northerly course, probably following the Indian trail. On reaching Xualla,[3] the territory of the Suwali Indians in the piedmont region about the head of Broad River in North Carolina, he turned west, crossed the Blue Ridge,[4] and descending the upper courses of the French Broad, came to Guaxule, an Indian town in White County, Georgia, where the chief lodged on a mound, surrounded by a terrace on which six men could promenade abreast,[1] and supposed to be the great Nacoochee mound, a few miles north-west of Clarksville. Following down the Chattahoochee and passing by Canasoga, a frontier town of the Cherokees, he finally reached Chiaha,[2] among the lower Creeks in the neighbourhood of where Columbus, Georgia, now is, on the 5th of June. On the way the chieftainess of Cufitatchiqui, whom, in return for her hospitality, De Soto had forcibly carried with him, escaped with a chest of unbored pearls of much value, which she had brought with her. At Chiaha a rest of thirty days was made, and while the soldiers lay encamped under the trees outside the town enjoying the luxuries of honey, bear's grease, and walnut oil, or fished on the banks of the stream, and swam in the river, the lean and hungry horses rested and grew fat, and the chief showed De Soto the native way of fishing for pearls and presented him with a great string of them.[3]

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[1] Oviedo (vol. i., p. 561) says they found Biscayan iron axes, glass beads, and rosaries with crosses.

[2] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 581.

[3] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 52, and Garcilaso, *La Florida del Inca*, lib. iii., cap. xviii., p. 136, and cap. xix., p. 137, call it Xuala; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 582, 583, Xualla. Pickett (*Hist. Alabama*, vol. i., p. 8) Jones, Jr. (*Hernando de Soto*, p. 31), Thomas (*Fifth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 95), and Irving (*Hist. Florida*, vol. ii., p. 8) all locate it in Nacoochee Valley in Habersham County. I have given in the text the route of De Soto through the Cherokee country as determined by Mr. James Mooney in "Myths of the Cherokees" in *Nineteenth Ann. Rep. Bur. Eth.*, Pt. 1, of which he has kindly sent me advance sheets.

[4] That De Soto entered the Cherokee country during this part of his march, see C. C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," *Fifth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 135; French (*Hist. Col. La.*, vol. ii., p. 101) "thinks he crossed—probably in lat. 35° north the mountainous country of the Cherokees"; Belknap (vol. i., p. 189), says he crossed the mountains within 35° lat.

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[1] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 52; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 583–584; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. xx., p. 139; Thomas (*Fifth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 96) says the mound is on the Etowah, near Cartersville, Georgia, is one of three mounds in that locality and is the largest in the State; M. F. Stephenson (quoted in Shipp, *ibid.*, p. 678) selects the same locality; Pickett (*ibid.*, vol. i., p. 8), locates Guaxule at "the head waters of the Coosa River"; Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 247) "thinks it was probably the site of Coosawattie Old Town"; Irving (*ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 10) considers Martin's route (*Hist. La.*, p. 35) wrong.

[2] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 52, calls it Chiha; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 584, 585, Chiaha; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. xx., p. 239, Ychiaha. Pickett (*ibid.*, vol. i., p. 9) places Chiaha at the junction of the Etowah and Oostanaula; Fairbanks (*ibid.*, p. 76), Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 247), Shipp (*ibid.*, pp. 373, 678), and Jones, Jr. (*ibid.*, p. 36), all accept his location; French (*Hist. Col. La.*, vol. ii., p. 101), selects "the Flint or Apalachicola River," and on p. 102, "probably the Coosa"; Gatschet (*Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 190) says it is a Cherokee name and means "the place of the otters," and on p. 189 thinks it lay on the Tennessee River. The location given in the text is that of Mooney, *ibid.*, *Nineteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, Pt. 1, pp. 24, 196 *et seq.*

[3] Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. xxi., p. 140; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 563;

From Chiaha, two Spaniards were sent in company with some Indians to the gold region of Chisca in the mountains to the north,[1] from whence they returned down the river and rejoined De Soto at Coste,[2] whither the governor had gone with the army. The Indians of Coste tried to bar the way to them, but De Soto contrived by a clever strategy to get possession of their chief, whom he compelled to furnish guides and carriers. Leaving Coste, De Soto next entered the "Province of Coça." Travelling through a well-watered, more densely populated, and better cultivated country than any he had previously seen, he reached Coça,[3] the chief place of the province, in what is now the county of Talladega, Alabama, on the 26th of July. Here the cacique met him, being carried aloft in a chair on the shoulders of his subjects, a diadem of feathers on his head, wrapped in a mantle of marten skins, and accompanied by musicians playing upon flutes. The Coça chief invited the Spaniards to settle in his territory, but the governor declined, and proceeded on his way to Pensacola Bay, where Maldonado was to meet him with supplies.[4]

Advancing southward, still through Choctaw terri-

Jones, Jr. (*ibid.*, p. 39), thinks these were the pearl-bearing unio, still native to the Etowah and Oostanaula and to many other Southern streams.

[1] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 586–588; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. xx., p. 140. Pickett (*ibid.*, vol. i., p. 14) places Chisca in the county of De Kalb, State of Alabama; Shipp (*ibid.*, p. 371), "in Lumpkin County, in the heart of the gold region of Georgia"; Gatschet (*ibid.*, vol. i., p. 130), "Is it Chiska talofa, a lower Creek town on the west side of Chatahuchi River?"

[2] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 53, calls it Costehe; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 587, Coste; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. xxii., p. 141, Acoste; see also Gatschet, *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 189; Pickett, *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 14; Shipp, *ibid.*, pp. 373, 676.

[3] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 53; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. xxii., p. 142; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 589. Pickett (*ibid.*, vol. i., p. 18) and Gatschet (*ibid.*, vol. i., p. 136) and Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 248) agree on this locality. Irving, *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 24, selects Old Coosa.

[4] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 589; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 564.

tory, De Soto passed the walled town of Ullibahali,[1] on Hatchet Creek in Coosa County, which, like others subsequently met with, was defended by a stockade of great rough posts set deep into the ground, with long rails as large as a man's arm laid crosswise between them and daubed with clay within and without, probably as a protection against fire, the whole forming a wall about the length of a lance in height, which was pierced with portholes.[2] Nearing the Alabama River, De Soto learned that Narvaez's barques had touched at the bay into which it emptied, in search of water, and had left behind a Christian called Theodoro and also a negro.[3] A dagger was shown to him which had belonged to the Christian.

He crossed the Alabama River, and on the 15th of October, 1540, reached Mavilla, the town of the Mobilians, situated between the Tombigbee and the Alabama at no great distance from their confluence.[4] When De Soto with the advance guard approached it he found it surrounded by a palisade having but two entrances, and the huts on the plain outside torn down. Weary with camping in the open, he persisted in securing a lodging within the town, into which he was received by the chief, a man of gigantic stature, with great demonstrations of friendship. But the actions of the Indians shortly awakened his suspicions, and on a fracas arising between a soldier and an Indian, whose back the soldier laid open with a blow of his sword, De Soto was set upon and driven with his men beyond the walls. Meanwhile the carriers, who were led in chains by the Spaniards, had deposited their burdens near the stockade without the town. But the victorious Mobilians compelled them to resume their burdens and bring them inside the palisade; then, freeing the carriers from their chains, they were armed with the swords and other weapons found in the packs and compelled to fight. The remainder of the army having now come up, De Soto disposed it in four squadrons, made a fierce assault upon the stockade, rescued a priest and a friar who had been captured in one of the houses when the Spaniards were driven out, routed the Indians, and set fire to the village.

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[1] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 591; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 565. Pickett, *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 21, places it on a tributary of the Tallasehatchee; Shea, in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 248, locates it on Hatchet Creek, Rockford (now Coosa) County, Alabama. Gatschet (*Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 85, note 2) says it is a name composed of an Alibamu word, *òli*, meaning village, and an Hitchiti word, *bahali*, meaning down-stream, southward.

[2] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 591; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 565.

[3] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 53; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 568.

[4] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 53–55; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. xxv., p. 146, cap. xxxii., p. 160; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 594, 598. Pickett (*ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 27, 28) and Fairbanks (*ibid.*, p. 76) locate it on the north bank of the Alabama at a place now called Choctaw Bluff; Irving (*ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 37) and French (*Hist. Col. La.*, vol. ii., p. 102), on the Alabama at its junction with the Tombigbee; Gatschet (*ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 85, 110), on the Black Warrior, the Tuscaloosa. Gatschet has since informed me that he now believes the Mobilians were a little north of 32°, about Camden. This varies but little from Pickett.

It proved a sterile victory; eighteen Spaniards were slain and over seventy injured, and twelve horses killed. All the clothes which the Spaniards had brought with them, the chalices and other altar decorations for the mass, the pearls which De Soto had intended to send to Cuba to induce emigration, together with the bandages and appliances of their only surgeon, were destroyed in the flames. De Soto himself was wounded, and he lost in the attack the husband of his niece, a brave cavalier much loved by the army.[1] The poor soldiers felt sadly the loss of their clothes as well as of the wine and pure wheat flour for the service of the mass. Deprived of its spiritual comfort, for the priests and monks all agreed that the corn-bread could not be consecrated, they made a shift to do without it, says the Inca chronicler, and erected every Sunday and feast-day an altar before which the priest, dressed in a kind of chasuble of buckskin, recited the Confession and Introit, the Collect, the Epistle and the Gospel, and the other parts of the mass, but without the Consecration, and the Spaniards called that a "dry mass."[1] Of the six hundred men who had left Tampa Bay, one hundred and two had by this time been lost through sickness or at the hands of the Indians.[2]

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[1] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 54; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 595; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. vii., cap. xxvii., p. 151, cap. xxx., p. 157; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 568.

De Soto remained at Mavilla a month, during which time he learned from Ortiz that Maldonado was awaiting him at Pensacola Bay, distant but six days' journey; fearing lest his troops would mutiny when they learned of Maldonado's presence so near at hand, for they were desperate at the poor results of the expedition, and anxious to get back to Cuba, he commanded Ortiz to keep his information a secret. Having himself nothing of value to remit to Cuba, he concluded to give Maldonado no notice whatever of his proximity, fearing that if the Cubans "should haue newes of him without seeing from Florida neither gold nor silver, nor anything of value, it would get such a name, that no man would seeke to goe thither, when he should haue neede of people."[3]

On the 17th of November, when the wounded, who, like Cortés's soldiers in Mexico, in default of other medicines, had dressed their wounds with the fat of the slain Indians,[4] had recovered, De Soto altered the direction of his march for a north-west course, crossed the Black Warrior and the Tombigbee, and on the 17th of December reached Chicaça in the province of the same name, which lay about the head waters of the

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[1] Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. xxxii., p. 159, "misa seca."

[2] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 599; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 570.

[3] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 599; see also Garcilaso, *La Florida del Inca*, lib. iii., cap. xxxii., pp. 160 *et seq.*

[4] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 55; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. xxx., p. 156; Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdadera*, tomo i., pp. 142, 273.

Yazoo and Mobile Rivers in what is now the State of Mississippi.[1] Here he determined to winter, as the country was fruitful and as his men were suffering from the cold. By dint of the utmost caution, he contrived to avoid a trap which the local chief had set for him, a warlike expedition against a feigned enemy; but the Indians stole into his camp at night and killed his hogs. Two of the three natives taken in the theft were shot, and the third was sent back to the chief with his hands cut off. Equally severe with his own men, De Soto ordered the death of two of them caught pilfering from the Indians; but they escaped with their lives through the clever interpretation of Ortiz, who changed the complaints of the Indians against them into a petition for mercy.

A second time the Spaniards became the victims of fire. In the early part of March, 1541, the Chickasaws made a night attack upon the encampment, setting it on fire. The Spaniards, taken by surprise, lost several of their men in the mêlée which ensued, together with what little clothing they had saved from the fire at Mavilla. The only Spanish woman who had followed the army, and who was about to become a mother, Francisca Hinestrosa, perished in the flames, and many horses were also destroyed in the confusion.[2] The troops, suffering from the cold, replaced their lost clothing as best they could with skins and mats woven from dry ivy and straw. A forge was fitted up with bearskin bellows, with musket-barrels for nozzles, at which the swords burnt in Chicaça were retempered, and targets, saddles, and lances made.[3]

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[1] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 55, calls it Chicaza; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 599, and Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. xxxv., p. 163, Chicaça. Gatschet (*ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 90, 91), Irving (*ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 78), Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 250), and Pickett (*ibid.*, vol. i., p. 41) place the territory in this region. See Martin, *Hist. La.*, p. 35.

[2] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 599 *et seq.;* Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. xxxvii., p. 168; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 571.

[3] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 604.

On the 25th of April, 1541, De Soto abandoned his winter quarters, and moving westward, passed the Alabamas, "The Thicket Clearers," who lived on the Yazoo River,[1] traversed the marshes and thick woods, and swam the lakes beyond, and on about the second day of March came upon the great river Mississippi, where it swept by the province of Quizquiz, and where its local name was the Chucagua.[2] It is generally supposed that he struck the river in the neighbourhood of the Lower Chickasaw Bluffs, about fifteen miles below the mouth of a river which might well be the St. Francis, where, at that time, it entered the old bed of the Mississippi. In the three centuries and a half since his famous crossing, the course of the Mississippi has undergone many and great changes, so that the mouth of the St. Francis, to-day *eighty* miles below Memphis, may be quite wide of the mark.

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[1] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 56, calls them Alibanio; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 605, Alimamu; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iv., cap. i., p. 172, Alibamo. Pickett (*ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 49, 80), Irving (*ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 94), and Gatschet (*ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 85, 86) all agree on this location on the Yazoo; Shipp (*ibid.*, p. 679) places them on the Tallahatchee.

[2] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 57, 58; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 606; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iv., cap. iii., p. 176; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 572. *Ellicott's Journal*, p. 125, says the crossing is "generally supposed to have been about lat. 34° 10′ north." On his map, Plate C, this would place it a little above the mouth of the White, and below that of the Arkansas River. Maps of the latter part of the eighteenth century indicate the same locality (see "Carte de la Louisiane et Cours du Mississippi," by Guillaume de l'Isle, in French, *Hist. Col. La.*, vol. ii., and Dr. Mitchelle's map in Shipp's *De Soto*). French (*ibid.*, p. v.), Martin (*Hist. La.*, p. 36), and Irving (*ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 103, note) all substantially accept the same locality. Fairbanks (*ibid.*, p. 76) is less definite; he says "a few miles below Memphis." There seems to have been an ancient Indian crossing-place at the lowest Chickasaw Bluff (see Schoolcraft's *Adventures in the Ozark Mountains*, cited in Shipp, p. 658, and Irving, vol. ii., p. 108, note). Dr. Shea (*Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 292, note 1) gives other authorities. The Mississippi is possibly referred to in Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 423; see Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 27. Bantz Mayer in *Hist. Magazine*, vol. i., p. 342, gives a list of the different names of the Mississippi River.

A spot was at once selected for the encampment on the river-banks, which were very steep and wooded with good timber. The trees were hewn down, and barges to convey the horses and footmen across were soon under construction. While the work on the boats was progressing, the Indians flocked down the river in their canoes, great war-barges with a bank of rowers on either side, and filled from head to stern with warriors decked in plumes and paint, standing proudly erect, carrying their shields, bows, and arrows in their hands. Under awnings of skin at the stern sat the chiefs, each in his own canoe.[1]

Very different was the scene upon which the dusky warriors looked during those bleak March days from that tinselled and unhistorical pageant which Congress has pictured within its halls as representative of the event. In the background, under the still leafless trees, whose buds were but scarcely beginning to swell, the horses were picketed or hobbled, weary and jaded with the hard march through the Yazoo bottoms, their rough winter coats singed and bared in spots from the still recent Chickasaw fire. In their midst the swine, grimy and thin, rooted under the dead leaves for acorns and succulent and tender shoots. Near the camp, set somewhat back from the river's bank, a band of lazy, barefooted soldiers, clothed in wretched doublets and breeches of buckskin, some with their steel caps tossed aside, showing the black Spanish locks sunburnt to a Gothic red, lay gambling away their slaves at cards or dice,[2] those dearly loved games which the emperor had so severely prohibited. In and out the doors of the thatched and skin-covered tents, guarded by bloodhounds tied to the birch-tree shaft of a lance thrust into the earth, ran Indian slaves, rattling their chains, some pounding the maize in Indian mortars, others sifting the meal through a rusty coat of mail which had twice escaped the fire. Yonder, withdrawn from the noise of the camp, gathered the Dominican monks, their frocks hanging in long shreds over their bronzed legs, the knotted rope replaced by a wisp of straw or a deer-thong; beside them the priest saying his "dry mass" in buckskin chasuble, the holy symbol of the Cross painted upon it, Indian fashion, a few of the more devout kneeling around him, bareheaded, their nakedness hidden under mats of dried ivy bound about their loins, around their shoulders a tanned deerskin pierced with lance-holes, the spoil torn from some dead chief. In the foreground, by the river-bank, where carpenters and caulkers were at work, some sawing the planks, others laying the keels of the boats, stood the forge, from which the sparks ascended merrily while an Indian captive, an iron collar around his neck, plied the bearskin bellows, and the armourer, perhaps a swarthy negro, stripped to the waist, forged the bolts and bars from what little metal could be spared. Along the shore paced a guard of arquebusiers and crossbowmen, in corselet and cap, to ward off attack.

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[1] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 607; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 573.

[2] Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. v., 1ª pt., cap. i., p. 198.

At the end of a month they had completed the construction of four barges. One morning, three hours before daylight, De Soto embarked four horsemen in each of three of the barges, together with some picked crossbowmen and rowers; in the other went Juan de Guzman with a few footmen. Going about three quarters of a mile up the river, because it was over a mile broad and the current very strong, the barges came down with the stream and landed directly opposite the camp. As the party approached a point on the opposite shore, where the bottom shallowed, the mounted horsemen plunged overboard from the boats and rode to a plot of hard, sandy ground, and thus the landing was made without resistance. Two hours after sunrise De Soto had transferred all his army across the river.[1]

Removing the iron from the boats, for it was too precious to be left behind, the Spaniards followed up the west bank of the river, making great detours to pass around the creeks, in search of the province of Pacaha, the country of the Quapaws, roving tribes who claimed hunting-grounds on the lower Arkansas, and who had some villages along the Mississippi a little to the north in that vicinity.[2] This is one of the two localities visited by De Soto west of the river, about which there is any degree of certainty. It was reported that gold would be found there. On the fifth day of the march they discovered from the hills bordering the St. Francis River a large town called Casqui. The chief received De Soto with great kindness, and here, on a high artificial mound a Cross was erected, made of the tallest pine trees that could be found. Then De Soto with the chief and part of the army marched in procession around it, the priests and monks chanting the litanies, and the soldiers the responses, while the remainder of the army stood under arms to guard against a surprise.[3]

On the 19th of June, De Soto reached Pacaha; he found the town deserted, but the soldiers clothed themselves with the skins found in the houses, and armed their horses with targets made of raw ox-hide,[4] the thick hide of the bison. Neither De Soto nor his men saw the bison throughout the long journey, although they met with bison robes and heard of the wild cattle to the north and west of them during much of the march west of the Mississippi. At Pacaha, De Soto remained forty days, plentifully supplied with fish, mantles, and skins by the rival chiefs of Casqui and Pacaha whom he had reconciled. The former left with him one of his daughters, and the latter two of his sisters, as pledges of friendship.

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[1] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 57; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 608; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iv., cap. v., p. 178.

[2] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 58, and Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 612, call it Pacaha; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iv., cap. vi., p. 181, Capaha. See also Rev. J. Owen Dorsey, in *The Southern Churchman*, Richmond, Va., February, 1894; Gatschet, *ibid.*, vol. i., p. 29; Schoolcraft, quoted by Shipp, *ibid.*, p. 658. The identification of localities visited subsequent to Pacaha are, with one or two exceptions, so wholly a matter of conjecture that references to the various and conflicting authorities are omitted.

[3] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 58; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 609; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. iv., cap. vi., p. 179; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 573.

[4] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 612.

While resting at Pacaha, an exploring party was sent on a seven-days journey to the north in search of gold and a passage to the South Sea. The party reached a province called Calusi, meeting for the first time on their journey with tribes of wandering Indians. These Indians lived in portable tents covered with rush mats which they pitched wherever deer were found, the men carrying the mats rolled up on their backs and the women the tent-poles.[1] But no way was found to the sea, and on the return of the explorers the governor concluded to retrace his steps. Returning to Pacaha he travelled south to Quigaute, a town situated on a river not far from its mouth, possibly one of the confluents of the Mississippi. It was the largest town he had as yet seen in all Florida; part of it he occupied, and, fearing treachery from the Indians, ordered the other half burned. But this did not prevent difficulties with the natives, whom De Soto controlled only by finally obtaining possession of their chief. The army now turned north-west, where it heard of bison to the north, and then south to a town called Tanico in what is now eastern Louisiana,[2] where a month's rest was taken, while the soldiers rejoiced in an abundance of salt, of which they had been deprived for a year, and the horses again grew fat.

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[1] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 59; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 612; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 573.

[2] Tanico, Tunica, in eastern Louisiana.

The salt was manufactured by the Indians and bartered by them for skins and mantles. The "Gentleman of Elvas" thus describes the process:

> "They make it along the Riuer, which when it ebbeth, leaueth it vpon the vpper part of the sand. And because they cannot make it, without much sand mingled with it, they throw it into certaine baskets which they haue for that purpose, broad at the mouth, and narrow at the bottom, and set it in the air vpon a barre, and throw water into it, and set a small vessel under it, wherein it falleth: Being strained and set to boil vpon the fire, when the water is sodden away, the salt remaineth in the bottome of the pan."[1]

A reconnoitring party was sent to the south, and on its return the wanderers again set out in that direction. Attacked on the march by the Indians in force, De Soto cut off the noses and right hands of six of the captives whom he had secured, and sent the mutilated warriors back to their chief. The latter finally submitted and sent the Spaniards coverlets made of buffalo robes, which proved a most acceptable gift, as the season was cold.[2] Again bison were heard of to the north. Lured by the report of a great water and a country called Autiamque to the south-east, fruitful in maize, De Soto determined to reach it and winter there. He thought the water might be some arm of the sea from whence he could send news to Cuba for supplies and men to recruit his depleted ranks, whose losses now amounted to two hundred and fifty men and one hundred and fifty horses. With these he could again turn westward to the region through which he supposed Cabeça de Vaca had wandered. Journeying through a rough and mountainous country and then through a plain and inhabited district, the army reached Autiamque about the 1st of December, and there it spent the winter.

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[1] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., pp. 9 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 1 *et seq.*

It is impossible to trace the course of the wandering Spaniards west of the Mississippi in any definite way, for only two of the localities which are mentioned in their itinerary have yet been ascertained with any degree of certainty. Since leaving the Mississippi they had crossed level country, and in the latter part of the march had been among very high mountains,[1] which are supposed to have been the Ozark in the western part of what is now the State of Arkansas. They had encountered Indian women who fought with more determination than the men, says Garcilaso,[2] and a strange tribe with heads extraordinarily long and pointed, an artificial deformation produced during childhood.[3]

During the winter spent at Autiamque, which was situated upon a river, the Spaniards were confined to the town for a whole month by the snow. They occupied themselves by catching hares with snares and watching the Indians, while the men were practised in false night alarms to keep them ever vigilant.[4] While at Autiamque Juan Ortiz, the faithful interpreter who had accompanied the army all the way from Tampa, sickened and died, and his mantle fell upon Peter, the young Indian captured in Georgia, who by this time had learned something of the Spanish language; but his proficiency in the Castilian was not as great as in religion, for it took a whole day to learn from him what Ortiz could explain in four words, "and most commonly hee vnderstood quite contrarie that which was asked him," which often caused them to stray out of their way.[5]

On the 6th of March, 1542, De Soto left his winter quarters and following down the river, with occasional stops at different points, reached a town named Guachoya, situated on the west bank of the Mississippi River, there called Tamaliseu;[1] it was the middle of April, and De Soto, still intent upon a port whence he could communicate with Cuba, inquired of the chief if he had any knowledge of the sea. Distrusting his denial, Juan de Añasco and a troop of horse were sent to look for it, but in vain. After eight days spent in unsuccessful wanderings among swamps and bayous, the explorers returned without additional information.

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[1] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 60, "Sierras asperas," . . . "es la tierra mui aspera de sierras"; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., chap. xxvii., p. 12.

[2] Garcilaso, *La Florida del Inca*, lib. iv., cap. xii., p. 189.

[3] *Ibid.*, lib. iv., cap. xiii., p. 190.

[4] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 12.

[5] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 14.

The evil news preyed upon the governor, and what with the hardships which he had endured, his bitter disappointment at the constantly receding phantom which he was pursuing, and despair at the impossibility of relieving and re-enforcing his men, he fell sick and took to his bed; but even in the clutches of the fever his dauntless spirit did not forsake him, and, realising the desperate strait of his reduced forces in the midst of a large Indian population, he planned and had executed an attack upon the inoffensive natives in order to hold them in fear, which plan, relentlessly and cruelly carried out, had the desired effect.[2] Feeling his end drawing near, he summoned his officers to his side and appointed Luis de Moscoso as his successor; the officers then pledged themselves to obey him, and De Soto, having made his will and made confession, passed away on the 21st of May, 1542.[3] Thus died one of the most indomitable spirits of his age; a leader whose stern resolve and masterly generalship would, but for his adverse fortune, have entitled him to rank with Cortés and Pizarro as having opened in the New World a pathway for the progress of his nation. He perished with his desire unsatisfied, his fortune depleted, his companions melting away before him, the victim of his own insatiable ambition and lust for gold. Well does his Portuguese biographer reckon him one " whom fortune aduanced, as it vseth to doe others, that hee might haue the higher fal."[1]

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[1] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 17.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[3] Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 62; Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 22; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. v., 1ª pte., cap. vii., p. 207; Martin (*Hist. La.*, p. 36) thinks he died at the mouth of the Red River.

According to two of his biographers he died at the age of forty-two. His contemporaries esteemed him as brave, affable, and generous,[2] although the " Gentleman of Elvas,"[3] not indeed without a suspicion of jealousy, attributes the latter quality to policy rather than to a higher motive. Oviedo,[4] also a contemporary, says he "was very fond of this sport of killing Indians," but it must be borne in mind that the estimate of his character should be based on a comparison with the men of his own time and class in similar circumstances, and in this respect he was far from being pre-eminent among his countrymen, who were much addicted to this gentlemanly " sport." He protested against the death of Atahualpa, and was sent off on an expedition to be rid of his interference when that evil deed was done. Severe he was, very cruel according to our present standard, " stern and of few words,"[5] for in his dealings with the natives he had been educated in a school which taught that the well-being of one Christian outweighed that of thousands of creatures predestined to eternal perdition, a belief not without its analogy in our own day, as the shambles of a civilised world reeking with the blood of " the beasts that perish " attest. " He was always inclined to please," says Herrera, " when it might be done without lessening his authority," and upon the maintenance of his authority hung the salvation of his army amidst the demoralising and disintegrating influences of disappointment and starvation. The mutilations, the burnings, the rending with dogs, were the approved, though barbarous, methods of his profession, above which neither his religion nor his own manhood impelled him to rise, and long contact with an inferior and weaker race, such as he had experienced, tended to brutalise the mind and render it incapable of distinguishing those subtler bonds of a common humanity which it is the triumph of Christianity to have proclaimed. But he was a brave soldier, and died beloved of his men.

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[1] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 23.

[2] Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. v., 1ª pte., cap. vii., p. 208 ; Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 7, lib. vii., cap. iii., p. 134.

[3] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 545.

[4] Oviedo, vol. i., p. 547.

[5] Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, p. 16.

De Soto had impressed upon the savages the belief that he himself was a child of the sun, and immortal; he had pointed out to them his reflection in a mirror and told them that it was his secret counsellor, informing him of all their most hidden thoughts. This belief Moscoso and his companions determined to perpetuate. His death was kept a secret from the Indians, and he was buried at night at one of the gates within the town, and the horsemen pranced their horses over his grave in order to conceal it. But imagining that the Indians suspected where he lay, and fearing lest the body might be dug up and mutilated and exposed by the savages, as was their habit, Moscoso had the river sounded, and at dead of night the body was disinterred, wrapped in a mantle, which for want of stones, was weighted with sand, and then stealing silently out in their canoes, the Spaniards consigned the body of their general to the bed of the great river which he had discovered.[1] The following day the Guachoyan chief, suspecting that their leader was dead, brought the Spaniards two Indian lads to be slain, that they might accompany and serve him in the new world to which he had departed. The well-intentioned offer was refused, and the chief informed that the governor was not dead, but gone to heaven, whither he had taken such of his own Christian soldiers as he had need of, and that he would shortly return.

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[1] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 22; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. v., 1ª pte., cap. viii., pp. 208 *et seq.*

The effects of De Soto, which consisted of two men slaves, two women slaves, three horses, and seven hundred hogs, were sold at auction in the camp, and the soldiers who had bought up the latter feasted upon their flesh, but piously observed the Fridays, Saturdays, and the evenings of feasts, "for sometimes in two or three moneths they did eate no flesh, and whensoeuer they could come by it, they did eate it."[1] But the commanding spirit had left them and the army was now desirous of leaving Florida, to which Moscoso, "which was given to his ease," gladly consented.

> "All were of opinion, that it was best to go by land toward the West, because Nueua Espanna was that way: holding the voyage by sea more dangerous, and of greater hazard, because they could make no ship of any strength to abide a storme, neither had they Master, nor Pilot, Compasse, nor Chart, neither knew they how farre the sea was off, nor had any notice of it; nor whether the Riuer did make any great turning into the land, or had any great fall the rocks, where all of them might be cast away."[2]

Leaving Guachoya on the 5th of June, the depleted army set out westward in hopes of reaching Mexico by land. Passing a place called Guasco the Spaniards came upon some stones which they took to be turquoise, and mantles of cotton wool,—turquoise and woven mantles of the far-off Pueblos in the Rocky Mountains, which had come thus far east, through what hands we know not,—perhaps by barter along the course of an eastward-flowing river, perhaps spoils captured from other roving tribes by their present owners. The Indians knew whence they came, for they signified by signs that they had them from the west. Inspired by the sight of these objects, which they recognised as those described by Cabeça de Vaca, the adventurers pushed still farther west to Daycao, which they reached in the early part of October; but beset by the Indians, misled by their guides, and suffering from scarcity of food, Moscoso longed for "a place where hee might sleepe his full sleepe, rather than to conquer and gouerne a countrie where so many troubles presented themselves."[1] Despairing of any escape in that direction, they returned to the Mississippi, and at Minoya on the river, not far below Guachoya, went into winter quarters[2] after their prolonged wanderings in the basin of the Red River, during which they had penetrated possibly as far west as the Trinity River.[3]

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[1] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 24; Oviedo, vol. i., p. 556.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

With the coming of January, 1543, the Spaniards, resolved at last to attempt the river as their only remaining way of escape, and began the construction of seven brigantines. Timber, of which there was a plentiful supply, was hewn down; a Genevese and four other carpenters sawed the planks, making them as thin as could be done with safety, because of the scarcity of nails; a forge was set up, and the chains used to lead the Indians, the metal fittings of what crossbows could be spared, with all the iron that could be collected in the camp, were worked up into nails. A cooper, the only one among them, though sick and at the point of death, made two half-hogsheads for each brigantine to carry the drinking-water. The ships were caulked with what makeshifts could be provided from the native flax and the mantles of the soldiers, which were unravelled for the purpose. Skins, of which a large number were obtained from the Indians, supplied the place of sails;

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[1] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., pp. 34, 35.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[3] The Nondacao of Elvas (*Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 31) and Biedma (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 62) is identified with the present Anadacos in the Red River Basin.

cords and cables were twisted from the bark of the mulberry tree, and iron stirrups were forged into anchors.[1]

While the vessels were being built, there came a great rise of the river, the water surrounding them for two months, flooding even the high ground on which the army was encamped. To this was added the fear of treachery on the part of the Indians, a suspicion confirmed by one of the natives, who was put to the torture by Moscoso. The latter danger was quelled by severe measures. The vessels being completed, all of the remaining hogs and all of the horses, except twenty-two of the best, were killed, and their flesh dried to provision the fleet. Most of the Indian slaves, some five hundred in all, both male and female, were released,[2] among whom were many boys and girls who understood and spoke the Spanish tongue. Finally, a timely flood having floated the brigantines from the town down to the stream, the Spaniards set sail for the sea, July 2, 1543, without pilot, without chart, and without compass.[3] Of the six hundred men who had landed at Tampa Bay, there embarked aboard the brigantines but three hundred and twenty-two.

Descending the river, the Spaniards were continually harassed by the Indians, who soon discovered how poorly they were equipped with weapons,—there was but one crossbow to each brigantine. Some of their number who put out to resist the Indians in some canoes carried in tow by the boats, were overwhelmed by larger canoes, tumbled into the river, and drowned by the weight of their armour. The remaining horses, proving only an impediment, were killed, the meat dried, and added to the scant stock of provisions.[1] After seventeen days, they reached the Gulf, living all the while on parched and sodden maize, of which the daily allowance was a head-pieceful for each three men. After much consultation, and in spite of the protest of Juan de Añasco, who, familiar with the chart of the coast, advised crossing the Gulf direct to Mexico, the course of the fleet was laid along the coast. On the 10th of September, 1543, all seven vessels reached the river Panuco, having endured much suffering from lack of food and water, and having finally yielded to Añasco's suggestion to steer a straight course.[2] Antonio de Mendoza, who had succeeded Cortés as viceroy of New Spain, received the survivors with great kindness, and directed that they should be cared for wherever they went, and at last the Spaniards reached the City of Mexico, thankful for their escape from that fateful Florida which had proved the grave of so many brave men before them.[3]

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[1] Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. v., 2ª pte., cap. viii., pp. 222 *et seq.*

[2] A royal cédula of December 28, 1547, was granted Fr. Luis Cancer commanding the release of those Indians who had returned with Moscoso to Mexico. See Remesal, *Hist. De Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. viii., cap. xxvi., p. 514, where it is given in full; Barcia, *Ensayo*, fol. 25, Año MDXLVII.

[3] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 37; Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 63; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. v., 2ª pte., cap. xv., pp. 234 *et seq.*

What Ortiz had reported of the presence of Maldonado at Pensacola Bay in the latter part of 1540, when the Spaniards were in the vicinity of the Alabama River, was correct. Maldonado had returned there from Cuba, expecting to rejoin De Soto according to appointment, but not finding him, part of the fleet sailed east and part west, searching for the lost leader, and, wherever a landing was made, leaving letters for him in the hollows of trees. The search was, of course, fruitless, but twice in the two succeeding years did the faithful lieutenant renew the attempt to find him, some of his vessels, says Garcilaso, sailing as far north as Newfoundland. On the last voyage Maldonado reached Vera Cruz about the middle of October, where he learned of the arrival of the forlorn survivors of the expedition and the loss of his chief. When the tidings of her husband's fate were brought to Doña Isabel in Havana, she was so overcome with grief that she died but a few days later.

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[1] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., pp. 41 *et seq.*; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. vi., cap. i., p. 237; cap. iv., pp. 241 *et seq.*

[2] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., pp. 46 *et seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 54; Garcilaso, *ibid.*, lib. vi., cap. xviii., p. 258.

In this prolonged expedition, covering a period of over three years, the Spaniards had explored a great extent of territory; they had followed the western coast of Florida, passed through the central and northern part of Georgia, circled through the westernmost portions of the two Carolinas, traversed at least half of Alabama from north to south, again crossed it in a north-westerly direction, and had penetrated the northern half of Mississippi. They had explored the central part of Arkansas, perhaps as far as Indian Territory, and had visited Louisiana, and possibly the eastern section of Texas. While in Georgia or Alabama one of their exploring parties may have touched the confines of Tennessee. They had become more or less acquainted with the customs of most of the Indian tribes frequenting this vast territory: Lower and Upper Creeks, Cherokees who had settled south of the mountains, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and, as some have thought, the Natchez. Across the Mississippi they had met the Quapaws and numerous tribes that cannot now be identified, some of them roving over the region skirting the great plains and subsisting upon the bison; others semi-sedentary, settled along the great river and living upon its fish and by hunting. Almost everywhere the Spaniards had met with a determined resistance which yielded only to their superior wile and weapons.

The results of this daring exploration were far different from what the adventurers had been led to expect by Cabeça de Vaca's glowing account. The pearls, of which De Soto's chroniclers give so extravagant a description, must have been of little value, even when not pierced or discoloured by fire, else their discovery would have stimulated further enterprise. Gold they did not find, but only here and there fertile and open countries that would have amply rewarded the efforts of more tranquil spirits, not bewitched as they were with the glint of the yellow metal, and mad with an insatiable craving for sudden wealth. Florida, which had gained for itself the unenviable reputation of being "full of bogs and poisonous fruits, barren, and the very worst country that is warmed by the sun,"[1] was now abandoned until the stories brought back by the survivors should have had time to germinate and bear fruit among the ever credulous Spaniards who thronged the viceroyalty of New Spain. Let us also leave it for a while and turn to the Spanish discoveries among the crags and cañons of the Rocky Mountains.

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 468.

CHAPTER V

THE DISCOVERY OF ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO

HISPANIOLA and Cuba were not the only points from which Spain pressed her explorations into that indefinite extent of territory comprised under the generic name of Florida. As soon as circumstances admitted of it, the conquerors of the valley of Mexico, octopus-like, spread north and south their all-embracing arms, continually adding to their newly acquired dominion of Nueva España, or New Spain.

On his return from Honduras in July, 1526, Cortés, the governor, captain-general, and chief justice of New Spain, was superseded by the investigating commissioner, Luis Ponce de Leon, who had been sent to prefer charges against the too powerful and independent *conquistador*. Two years later (1528), Cortés left Mexico for Spain just in time to escape the clutches of the Royal Audiencia appointed that very year to supersede the investigating commissioner. Nuño de Guzman had been named president of the Audiencia and also governor of New Spain.[1] Guzman eagerly seized the opportunity with which fortune had presented him to enhance his own importance by a further extension of the territory under his rule, and, in the year following his appointment, organised an expedition to further his purpose.

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[1] H. H. Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i., pp. 7, 9, 26.

In what direction the advance should be made was the problem which confronted the governor. To the south Guatemala and Honduras, and to the east all the region from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to Panuco owned allegiance to the Spanish crown; still farther up the coast of the Gulf of Mexico lay the grants of Grijalva and Narvaez, but to the north and north-west the land was still unexplored, and, but for the pretentions of Cortés, unclaimed. Other inducements to push his exploration in this direction also presented themselves to the cruel and avaricious Guzman, whose character seems to have been stamped with that unreasoning credulity which frequently attends such dispositions.[1] He had received some report of an island inhabited by Amazons to the north-west; this he determined to search for. Moreover, in 1530, a Tejos Indian of the valley or valleys of Oxitipar, of which Guzman was owner, related to him that while he, the Indian, was still a child, his father, who was a trader, had travelled over the interior of the country to sell handsome plumes which were used for head-dresses, and had brought back in exchange a large quantity of gold and silver, metals very common in that country. He added that he had once or twice accompanied his father, and that he had seen towns so large that they could be compared in size to Mexico[2] and its suburbs. These towns, the Indian said, were seven in number, and in them there were whole streets inhabited by goldsmiths. He gave the direction by which they could be reached, travelling north between the two seas and crossing a grass-grown desert for forty days.[3] Such were the first rumours to reach the Spaniards of the Pueblo towns of New Mexico.

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[1] Mr. Bancroft has given a summary of Guzman's character in his *History of Mexico*, vol. ii., pp. 365–372 and 457–461.

[2] The Spanish town of Mexico founded in 1524 contained, fifteen years after its foundation, hardly one thousand people.—Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 172 and notes.

[3] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 416; English translation in *ibid.*, pp. 472–473, and in Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 11. Mr.

Two curious traditions came to confirm the strange story of the Tejos Indian. One, of native origin, and probably known to the Spaniards at that time, was a local form of a widely prevalent belief in some underground or cave origin for their progenitors; and it was in this tradition that the Aztecs derived their nation from Chicomoztoc, the Seven Caves, located north of Mexico, indicative, perhaps, of the direction of their migration.[1] The other was an European legend, one of those numerous myths of the region of departed souls, pointing dimly to the wandering planets,— myths whose origin is lost in the mists of prehistoric times. In Spain it had crystallised into the pre-Columbian story of the Island of the Seven Cities, identified by the Portuguese with the legendary Antilla, lying westward of the Canaries and the Azores in the unknown expanse of the Atlantic Ocean. The story ran that the Island of the Seven Cities was peopled by the Portuguese

> "at the Time when Spain was overrun by the Moors in the Reign of King Roderick, for that seven Bishops, flying from that Persecution, embark'd with a great Number of People, and arriv'd in that Island, where each of them built his Town, and to the end the People might not think of returning, they set fire to the Ships."[2]

Bandelier states that while we might doubt Castañeda's testimony, the story is confirmed by contemporary documents; Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i., p. 27, note 1.

[1] Bandelier, *Contributions*, pp. 10, 19; Brinton, *The Myths of the New World* (2nd ed.), pp. 243 *et seq.*; G. S. Jones, "The Cave Myth of the American Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. xii., p. 552; Gatschet, *Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 217.

[2] Herrera, vol. i, dec. 1, lib. i., cap. ii., p. 4; Stevens's translation, vol. i., p. 8, is that given in the text. Sir Daniel Wilson, in *The Lost Atlantis and Other Ethnographic Studies*, p. 37, Edinburgh, 1892, says the legend in this form comes down from the time of the Caliph Walid and the invincible

So firm was the belief in its existence, that the Island of the Seven Cities was several times observed by the wonder-seeing eyes of mariners, nay, was even visited,[1] for, continues Herrera,

> " in the Days of Don Henry, Infante of Portugal, a Ship sailing from that Kingdom was drove upon it by a Storm, and the Natives carry'd the Sailors to the Church, to see whether they were Christians, and performed the Roman Ceremonies, and perceiving they were such, desir'd them to stay there till their Sovereign came; but that the Seamen fearing lest they should burn their Ship to detain them, return'd with much joy to Portugal, well assur'd they should be well rewarded by the Infante, who reprov'd them for coming away without a better Account, and order'd them to return thither; but that the Master and Seamen durst not perform it, and departing the Kingdom never came back."

Coupling the Christian and native legends with the story of the Tejos Indian, what more was wanting to convince the governor that to the north lay the Seven Cities of the Portuguese bishops firmly anchored to the mainland ?

Musa. The variant given by Mr. Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 5, as well as by Wilson, says it was a bishop of Lisbon who escaped. For the discussion of still another variant, that of the Seven Islands, and the identification with Antilla, see Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. i., p. 49, note 6, and pp. 48 *et seq.* And see also F. S. Bassett, *Legends and Superstitions of the Sea*, etc., pp. 333, 339, Chicago and New York, 1885. Gregorio Garcia, in *Origen de los Indios de el Nuevo Mundo*, lib. iv., cap. xx., pp. 188 *et seq.*, Madrid, 1729, after giving the Portuguese settlement of the Island of the Seven Cities, adds that some hold that during the Moorish conquest some Spaniards escaped to America and may have settled in Mexico.

[1] By the Portuguese in 1448; see Barcia, in a note to the 2nd ed. of Gregorio Garcia, *Origen de los Indios*, etc., p. 189, cited by Bandelier, in *Contributions*, p. 5, note 1; by Jean Allefonsce, Roberval's pilot, in 1541, see *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. iv., p. 76; and by Sebastian Cabot, who reported their discovery, *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. i., p. 50.

In December, 1529, the expedition set out on its visionary enterprise, and in the two following years Guzman penetrated into and conquered Sinaloa, founded the settlement of San Miguel, and, farther north, that of Culiacan, near the site of the present city of the same name, returning to Jalisco by the middle of October, 1531.[1] The Seven Cities had eluded his army, but it had found the Island of the Amazons, which, Mr. Bandelier thinks it not unlikely, was one of the group of the Tres Marias in front of the harbour of Mazatlan.[2] By 1536, Guzman's lieutenants in charge of the conquered territory, to which was given the name of New Galicia, had penetrated as far north as the range of the Nebomes or Southern Pimas in the foot-hills of the Sierra Madre of southern Sonora, at which period the most northern Spanish settlement was still that of Culiacan.[3] Meanwhile Cortés had returned (1530) with his new title of marqués del Valle de Oajaca, and extensive privileges to prosecute further discoveries along the Pacific coast, but the Government, fearing the wiles of the ambitious subject, still continued the Audiencia in power. The energetic conqueror did not long delay to avail himself of his restored opportunities, and in the four succeeding years at least an equal number of distinct attempts were made by him to push northward along the western coast, but with no more important result than the discovery of the California Peninsula.[4]

In 1535, Antonio de Mendoza was sent from Spain to be the first viceroy of New Spain. Under his auspices a new policy consisting of a more kindly treatment of the native population was to be initiated, and the ultimate discovery of the fabled cities[1] to be achieved. In July of the following year (1536) Cabeça de Vaca and his companions reached the City of Mexico, having experienced on their way through southern Sonora and Culiacan the ruin and desolation which had marked the path of Guzman and his followers. The wonderful story of the travellers produced much the same effect upon the mind of the viceroy as it did upon the Spanish Court, and it is related that he requested them to lead an undertaking of his own into the region they had so recently traversed. Cabeça is said to have declined because of his contemplated departure for Spain, and Maldonado and the negro also declined, for fear of exposing themselves to new dangers.[2] However this may be, two of the party remained behind, Estevanico to become the slave of Mendoza and Dorantes to enter the viceregal service. Mendoza, at great expense to himself, soon fitted out an expedition under Dorantes to prosecute the discovery of the countries, based, perhaps, upon the map which the adventurers are said to have left with him, but for some unknown reason the project fell through.[3]

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[1] *North Mexican States*, vol. i., pp. 28–39.

[2] Bandelier, *Contributions*, pp. 2, 12.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 75.

[4] *North Mexican States*, vol. i., pp. 9, 40–53; Bandelier, *Contributions*, pp. 15, 17 *et seq.*

The next attempt to reach the unknown north belongs to that class of disputed historical events, the uncertainty of which arises chiefly from the absence of any contemporary official report of its occurrence. In 1538, Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, provincial of the Franciscans in New Spain, sent Fray Juan de la Asuncion and a companion friar on a mission beyond New Galicia "to convert new people."[1] As soon as an unknown country was reached, Fray Asuncion's companion, having fallen ill, was left behind, while Fray Asuncion, turning toward the seacoast, in a few days' march reached a country where he was received by the inhabitants as a messenger come from heaven. The natives among whom he journeyed, though poor, were expert hunters and divided with him the produce of the chase. In this way he travelled more than three hundred leagues (about seven hundred and eighty miles), hearing from the Indians reports of an inhabited country where the people went clothed in cotton and wool, wore shoes that covered the whole foot, had many turquoises, and dwelt on the shore of a great river in enclosed villages in which the houses were constructed of sod and had many stories. At times the chiefs of these villages warred with each other. Beyond the river were still larger and wealthier villages.[2]

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[1] Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 5, lib. ix., cap. i., p. 201, and dec. 5, lib. i., cap. x., p. 15; Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 72, note 1.

[2] *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 20, Año MDXXXVI.

[3] "Lettre de Don Antonio de Mendoza á l'Empereur Charles V.," in *Rel. du Voyage de Cibola*, Appendice III., p. 285; English version in *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 61, and in Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 80, who fixes the date of the letter between Nov. 20, 1538 and Sept., 1539 (p. 34, note 1, and p. 77), and that of the expedition as probably in 1537 (p. 103); Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i., p. 70; "Carta escrita por D. Antonio de Mendoza," etc. (Dec. 10, 1537), *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 136.

Such is in substance the meagre account of the mission, written but two years after it was undertaken by the celebrated missionary Motolinia. Later writers have added to it the names of the monks and other details, obtained probably from the relation of a subsequent discoverer. Mr. Bandelier, after his careful review of the different sources, concludes that

> "the present condition of the case leads me to believe, that the journey was really made, that Fray Juan de la Asuncion was the man who performed it, and that he reached as far north

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[1] Mendieta, *Hist. Ecc.*, lib. vi., cap. xi., pp. 398 *et seq.*, quoted in Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 90; the name of the monk is given in Mange, *Lus de Tierra Incognita*, quoted by Bandelier, *ibid.*, p. 93.

[2] Motolinia, "Hist. de los Indios de la Nueva España," in Icazbalceta, *Col. Doc. para la Hist. de Mexico*, vol. i., p. 171. This, as well as all the other relations of any importance bearing on this incident, is given both in the original and in translation, and carefully considered by Mr. Bandelier in *Contributions*, pp. 84–105. See, also, his "Documentary History of the Zuñi Tribe," *Journ. Am. Eth. and Arch.*, vol. iii., p. 1, 1892.

as the Lower Gila, and perhaps the lower course of the Colorado of the West; and that consequently there was a discovery of Southern Arizona one year previous to that of New Mexico by Fray Marcos of Nizza."[1]

At this time the vice-commissioner-general of New Spain was a certain Fray Marcos de Niza, a native of the city of Nice in the duchy of Savoy, as the name by which he is commonly known indicates.[2] He had accompanied Francisco Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, was present at the death of Atahualpa,[3] and had even written several works upon that country;[4] he was held in high esteem by the members of his Order, not only on account of his virtue and piety, but also for his acquirements in theology, cosmography, and the art of navigation,[5] and by the viceroy for his wide experience in the affairs of the Indies and his good life and conscience.[6] On the return of Fray Asuncion, says the Mendieta narrative, written some fifty-six years later, Fray Marcos

> "in order to satisfy himself of the truth of what that friar had published, determined to suffer any exposure by taking the lead, before any others should conclude to do it, and so he

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[1] Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 101. H. H. Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, vol. i., p. 72, note 3) dismisses the whole matter with a few lines in which he is inclined to attribute the story "to Niza's trip confounded also perhaps with later ones." Neither Davis nor Prince makes any mention of it. See also Elliott Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer, the Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés*, p. 479, New York, 1900, and Dr. Coues's "Commentary on Juan de la Asuncion," *ibid.*, pp. 505 *et seq.*

[2] Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 98, notes 2 and 3; Vetancurt, *Teatro*, 4^a pte., "Menologio," March 25th.

[3] Bandelier, *ibid.*, p. 107.

[4] Ternaux-Compans, *Rel. du Voyage de Cibola*, Preface, p. v., where he gives their titles.

[5] Certificaciones, Fra. Antonio de Cibdad-Rodrigo, ministro provincial, *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 328.

[6] "A letter written by the most honourable Lord Don Antonio de Mendoça, Vice-roy of Nueua Espanna, to the Emperours Maiestie," *Hak.*, vol. iii., pp. 63, 65.

went as quick as possible himself. And finding that the report and indications of the friar were true, he returned to Mexico and confirmed what the other had said."[1]

The following year (1538) the viceroy appointed Francisco Vasquez de Coronado governor of New Galicia, in place of De la Torre, who had succeeded Guzman,[2] and an unsuccessful effort was made to penetrate into the region of Topia in north-western Durango.[3]

The viceroy, influenced, says Herrera,[4] by his great friend, Fray Bartolomeo de Las Casas, who advised the reduction of the natives "rather by the preaching of religious men than by force of arms," now selected Fray Marcos for the carrying out of his new policy in the north-western acquisitions. Coronado was to accompany the Fray as far as the town of San Miguel de Culiacan, and the viceroy, while he enjoined upon Fray Marcos the duty of conciliating the natives by the promise of a cessation of the maltreatment they had previously endured, appointed him a kind of spiritual reporter of the conduct of the new governor in the affairs of San Miguel "in what relates to the service of God our Lord, and the conversion and good treatment of the natives of the province. And if," continue the instructions, "through the favor of God our Lord and the grace of the Holy Ghost, you should find a road on which to proceed onward and penetrate farther inland, you shall take along with you Esteban of Dorantes as a guide."

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[1] Mendieta, *Hist. Ecc. Ind.*, lib. iv., cap. x., pp. 398 *et seq.*, quoted in Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 90; Venegas, *Noticia de la California*, tomo i., p. 163.

[2] *North Mexican States*, vol. i., p. 71.

[3] "Lettres de Vasquez Coronado à Don Antonio de Mendoza," *Rel. du Voyage de Cibola*, Appendice V., pp. 352 *et seq.*; Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 419; Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 104.

[4] Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 6, lib. vii., cap. vii., p. 155.

On Estevanico was enjoined implicit obedience to Fray Marcos, and the latter was authorised to take with him the Indians who came with Dorantes and who were to form a part of Coronado's train.

As the friar's mission was essentially one of peace, he was to proceed as safely as possible, in order to avoid any exigency which in case of harm to himself might call for active proceedings against the natives, and in the course of his journey he was to

> "be careful to note the kind of people, if they are numerous or not, and if they are dispersed or live together; the quality and fertility of the land, its climate, the trees and plants, domestic or savage animals, the aspect of the country, whether rugged or level, the streams, if large or small, and the rocks and metals. And of whatever objects it may be possible to bring or send samples, bring or send them, in order that his Majesty be informed of everything. . . . If God our Lord should grant"

that a large settlement be found, suitable, in the opinion of the friar, for the erection of a monastery, whither ecclesiastics could be sent "fitted for the work of conversion," Marcos was to forward the message with due secrecy,

> "in order that everything be prepared without commotion, and that, in the pacification of what may be discovered, the service of our Lord and the good of the people of the country be properly secured. . . . And although the whole earth belongs to the Emperor, our master,[1] you will, in my name, take possession of it for his Majesty . . . and to the natives you will give to understand that there is a God in heaven, and the Emperor upon this earth to rule and to command them, to whom all have to be subject and serve him."[2]

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[1] "Y aunque toda la tierra es del Emperador Nuestro Señor," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 327.

[2] "Instruccion de Don Antonio de Mendoza, Visorey de Nueva España,"

These instructions, brief as they are (for they occupy only three pages in the printed volume of the *Archives of the Indies*), are altogether remarkable and unique. Aside from the arrogant and false assumption of the empire of the world [1] in behalf of his sovereign, whereas the Holy Father had granted him only one half, they are indicative of the rare wisdom of the viceroy who framed them, and embrace in their wide scope a variety of objects not usually coupled in a single document. For this reason they deserve a somewhat closer attention than has heretofore been accorded them. In the first place the viceroy had shrewdly disguised the arm of the flesh under the Franciscan gown, and the expedition, ostensibly undertaken for the glory of God, and prosecuted at the expense of the Church, received direct authority from him to take possession of any discovery in the name of his imperial master. As a consequence, failure would in no wise jeopardise his own prestige, nor uselessly squander the royal revenues.

With the benefit of the Crown in view, a careful and scientific survey of the region traversed was to be made; but in case of the discovery of any large settlement, whose immediate occupation might become desirable, the good friar was to notify him "secretly" of the same as a suitable locality for the founding of a monastery, in order that the "pacification" might be conducted without arousing the attention of adverse claimants such as Cortés. To secure for himself the advantage of such a discovery, to ensure secrecy, and to prevent any complicity

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Doc. Inedit., vol. iii., p. 325; Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 6, lib. 6, cap. vii., p. 155. The English translation of the instruction which I have given is that of Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 109; there is a French translation in *Rel. du Voyage de Cibola*, Appendice I., p. 249.

[1] This was, however, the usual form of words employed in speaking of the emperor; see "Requerimiento que se hizo á los Indios de Nueva Galicia," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 369; "ques Señor y Monarca del Mundo," p. 373; and see Narvaez's requisition, p. 179, *ante*.

between the friar and the governor of New Galicia, Mendoza placed the former in such a relation to the latter, that of spiritual informer,[1] as would hardly tend to cement the ties of friendship between them; and as Fray Marcos's instructions and authority emanated directly from the viceroy, it seems more than probable that the secret messages were to be forwarded directly to him.

It is true that the still open wounds inflicted by Guzman and his successors, as well as the antagonistic interests of the ever active Cortés, justified Mendoza in the care which he took to avoid any initiative on the part of others than himself; and unquestionably there were adventurers enough, in the new provinces, who at the first whisper of a kingdom to be won would set the viceregal authority at defiance, attempt the conquest on their own account, and leave the justification of their illegal acts to success and Providence.

The instructions breathe a sincere desire for peace, and to make some atonement to the poor natives for the ills of the previous provincial administration. They are noteworthy for offering the first instance of a scientific exploring expedition, in the modern sense, although the entire equipment seems to have consisted in the good will of Fray Marcos; and they also furnish the earliest example of a mission acting under authority of the Crown to take and maintain possession of new territories, a policy pursued on a far more extended scale at a much later period in the settlement of California.

On the 7th of March, 1539, Fray Marcos de Niza left Culiacan, whither he seems to have attended Coronado,[2] in his varied capacity of spiritual informer, missionary, peace envoy, scientific explorer, and royal commissioner. With him went a lay brother, Fray Onorato, the Arab negro, Estevanico,[1] and some of the Sonoran Pima Indians who had accompanied Cabeça de Vaca to Mexico, where they had been instructed in the Spanish language, had become Christians, and had been purchased and liberated by the viceroy for the purpose of this expedition.[2] At the village of Petatlan on the Rio del Fuerte,[3] the lay brother fell sick, and Fray Marcos was obliged to abandon him. Attended only by the negro and the Indian guides, the Franciscan monk continued his journey "whither the Holy Spirit led me, unworthy though I was,"[4] he says, received everywhere with rejoicings by the natives, grateful that no more slave-stealing forays were to be made in their midst. Beyond the Rio Mayo,[5] he left the neighbourhood of the coast, and turning more to the north, towards the interior of Sonora, reached the town of Vacapa, probably the Matapa[6] of to-day, not far south of the beautiful valley of the Rio Sonora. On the way, he came upon Indians who sought to touch his clothes, and called him *Sayota*, which in their language meant a man from heaven. "These Indians I instructed to the best of my ability, by means of the interpreters, with the contents of my instructions, that is, in the knowledge of our Lord who is in heaven, and of his Majesty who is on earth.;"[1] The natives gave him notice of a rich and populous valley to the east, inhabited perhaps by the sedentary Pimas,[2] where the people wore round objects of gold in the nose and ears, and used little scrapers of gold to remove the perspiration.

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[1] The written report was first submitted to the father provincial, who then transmitted it to the viceroy.—*Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 350.

[2] Coronado's letter (*Rel. du Voyage de Cibola*, Appendice V., p. 349) is dated Culiacan, March 8, 1539.

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[1] Fray Marcos in his relation calls him Estéban. For the sake of uniformity I have continued to use the same name given him in the Cabeça de Vaca relation.

[2] Niza, "Rel.," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 330; Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 6, lib. vii., cap. vii., pp. 155 *et seq.*; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 20, Año. MDXXXVII. Bandelier, *Contributions*, pp. 64, 116.

[3] Bandelier, *ibid.*, p. 118; Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 28, note 4.

[4] "Dondé me guió el Espíritu-Santo, sin merescello yo," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 330.

[5] Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 119; or perhaps the Yaqui.

[6] Bandelier, *Ibid.*, pp. 122–125; Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i., p. 75, note 8, gives Lt. Whipple's conjectures that Vacapa is the Casas Grandes of Chihuahua, or Magdalena on the Rio San Miguel. In his *Hist. of Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 30, note 5, he seems to indicate north-western Sonora, south of Sonoita or San Marcelo. Davis, in *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 144, note 2, inclines to Magdalena.

While Fray Marcos rested at Vacapa until Easter, he dispatched messengers to the sea, from which he was but forty leagues distant,[3] to gather some information of the coast, and at the same time directed the negro Estevanico to advance to the north some fifty or sixty leagues, and in case he heard of rich and peopled countries in that direction either to return in person or to await his coming, sending him by the Indians a cross the size of which should indicate the importance of the information:

> "To wit, that if it were but a meane thing, hee should send mee a white Crosse of one handfull long; and if it were any great matter, one of two handfuls long; and if it it were a Countrey greater and better then Nueua Espanna, hee should send mee a great crosse. So the sayde (negro) Stephan departed from mee on Passion-Sunday after dinner."[4]

Such was the last sight Fray Marcos was to have of the dusky adventurer who ranks among the earliest explorers of our country. "And within foure dayes after the messengers of Stephan returned vnto mee with a (very) great Crosse as high as a man, and they brought me word from Stephan that I should forthwith come away after him;"

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[1] *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 331.

[2] Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 121.

[3] *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 332.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 333; *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 70. The Hakluyt translation can only be used with the greatest caution and by checking each sentence from the original. It is a condensation with interpolations and is most misleading, particularly in the latter part. The Ternaux-Compans translation is substantially accurate, with but few unimportant lapses.

for Estevanico had found people who gave him information of "the greatest thing in the world."[1] One of these people he sent to Fray Marcos, to whose listening ears he related that it was thirty days' journey from the town where Estevanico was to the first city of a province which was called Cibola; that there were seven great cities in the first province all under one lord, and great houses of stone and lime; the smallest were of one story with a flat roof above, and others of two and three stories, and that of the lord, of four, all connected in order; and that the entrances of the principal houses were highly wrought with turquoises, of which there was a great abundance. The people of these cities were very well dressed; "and he gave me many other details," says Fray Marcos, "as well of the seven cities, as of other provinces farther on, each one of which, he said, was a much greater matter than those seven cities."

The name of Cibola which Fray Marcos now heard for the first time as that of the first of these seven cities, was in all likelihood a corruption of the name *Shi-uo-na*, given by the Zuñi Indians who dwelt on the great plateau of the continental divide in New Mexico, to their tribal range or country.[2] What wonder that the Franciscan monk, hearing of the marvel, exclaims "I gave thanks to our Lord;" but trusting that Estevanico would obey instructions as he was bound to and await his coming, he delayed his departure from Vacapa until the return of his messengers from the seacoast. The latter brought with them further information confirmatory of the Indian's report, and at last, two days after Easter, Fray Marcos set out to follow in the footsteps of the negro.

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[1] "La mayor cosa del mundo," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 333.

[2] Bandelier, *Contributions*, pp. 131 *et seq.*, and p. 167, in which derivation he agrees with Mr. Cushing; Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 110, note 1, thinks it an Indian name for the buffalo, but see Bandelier, *ibid.*, p. 132; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 44, note 20, appears to incline to Davis's opinion.

It is thought that he travelled directly north, ascending the valley of the Rio Sonora,[1] now through a wide and fertile valley hemmed in by mountains, crossing and recrossing the shallow stream, and now through narrow and perpendicular cañons towering hundreds of feet above his head, with here and there fantastic forms of columns, turrets, and towers carved by the forces of nature in the soft sandstone, and islands canopied with dense foliage. From projecting ledges in the rocks, wherever a foothold was to be found, sprang the yuca and the agave, the air was filled with the perfume of the grape and the melliot, and overhead circled birds of brilliant plumage.[2] Not a word of all this does the good monk relate, for it has little in common with theology, cosmography, and the art of navigation; but if these sweet savours of nature were wafted into his soul, perhaps they will some day be found recorded in that yet unrecovered "other writing"[3] in which he left an account of the islands and the villages which he had learned of. "Here I raised two crosses, and took possession," he says, "for it appeared to me suitable from here on to perform acts of possession."[4]

Another great cross was set up in the Sonora Valley,[5] and details gathered from the Opatas, who inhabited it, of the three distant kingdoms of Marata,[6] Acus,[7] and Totonteac,[8] as well as of the seven cities, but there was no news of Estevanico. Fray Marcos heard reports of turquoise being worn in the ears and nose, and of long, full-sleeved gowns of cotton, fastened about the neck with a button and pendent cord, and girded with belts studded with turquoises.[1] Again the story of the turquoise-wrought entrances or doors was repeated to him, and as he ascended the valley there came to him still more convincing proof of the truth of the reports both from the natives and from messages left behind by Estevanico, whom he expected to rejoin shortly. The Indians of the last village through which he passed before leaving the valley, informed him, much to his astonishment, that in Totonteac there were stuffs similar to the grey woollen cloth of his frock, made from material obtained from certain small animals about the size of a greyhound. They referred, thinks Mr. Bandelier, to the fabric, not altogether unlike that worn by the monk, tressed of narrow strips of rabbit fur wound around a core of yuca fibre, which is still manufactured in that region.[2] There was still no sign of Estevanico, save, as the monk crossed the uninhabited waste of wild and rugged mountain region which separates the upper Sonora Valley from that of the San Pedro[3] and entered upon what is now the territory of the United States, he found shelter and provisions which the forethought of the negro had provided for him along his route.[4]

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[1] Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 133.

[2] J. R. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, vol. i., pp. 278 *et seq.*, from which this description is condensed. Bartlett descended the valley May 30th, not three weeks later in the season than Fray Marcos went up it.

[3] "Cuyos nombres pongo en otro papel," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 334.

[4] *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 337.

[5] Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 133.

[6] Marata is Ma-tya-ta, a group of pueblos at that time but recently abandoned, south-east of Zuñi, on the trail leading to Acoma, Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 174.

[7] Acus is Acoma of the Queres, and of Coronado, Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 132, and note; *Contributions*, p. 173.

[8] Totonteac was the Moquis or Shinumo in north-eastern Arizona, Bande-

Descending the valley of the San Pedro, he says it was

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lier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 114, 117. According to Cushing it was a cluster of twelve ancient pueblos belonging to the Moquis, but already abandoned, *Contributions*, p. 175. These places were visited at intervals by the Opatas of the valley to trade for turquoise, for which reason, perhaps, they did not know of the recent abandonment of two of them, *ibid.*, 177.

[1] *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 336.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 338; Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 450; Bandelier, *Contributions*, pp. 139–141.

[3] Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 139. Or the upper course of the San Pedro, see *Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 481.

[4] *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., pp. 337, 338.

well irrigated[1] and like a garden, the small villages of the Sobaypuris[2] extending down the valley at distances of a quarter of a league to half a league apart, and that the turquoise were so plentiful that the men wore three or four strings of them around their necks, and the women ornamented their noses and ears with them. The women were clothed in good skirts and chemises, and the men in blankets and skins.[3]

> "Heere there was as great knowledge of Ceuola (Cibola) as in Nueua Espanna of Temistitan (Mexico), and in Peru of Cuzco: and they tolde vs particularly the maner of their houses, lodgings, streetes and market-places, as men that had bene oftentimes there, and as those which were furnised from thence with things necessary for the seruice of their householde, as those also had done, which I already had passed. I tolde them it was impossible that the houses should be made in such sort as they informed mee, and they for my better vnderstanding tooke earthe and ashes, and powred water thereupon, and showed me how they layd stones vpon it, and how the buylding grew vp, as they continued laying stones thereon, vntill it mounted aloft, I asked them whether the men of that Country had wings to mount vp vnto those loftes: whereat they laughed, and shewed mee a Ladder in as good sort as I my selfe was able to describe it. Then they tooke a Staffe and helde it ouer their heads, and said that the lofts were so high one aboue another."[4]

Still the wonder grew, for the good monk, who honestly distinguishes in his relation the reports which he got from the natives from that which he saw with his own eyes, met here a native of Cibola, who, besides the common talk of stone and lime-built houses with turquoise-wrought doors and façades, told him that some of the houses were even ten stories high; such at least was the understanding of Fray Marcos. Here he also saw

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[1] "Riégase todo y es como un vergal," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 340, which may indicate artificial irrigation, *riegar*.

[2] Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 146.

[3] *Doc Inedit.*, vol. iii., pp. 338, 339.

[4] *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 75; *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 339.

> "an hide halfe as bigge againe as the hide of a great oxe (cow), and (they) tolde me that it was the skin of a beast which had but one horne vpon his forehead, and that this horne bendeth toward his breast, and that out of the same goeth a point right forward, wherein he hath so great strength, that it will breake anything, how strong so euer it be, if he runne against it, and that there are great store of these beasts in that Country. The colour of the hide is of the colour of a great Goat-skin, and the haire is a finger thick."[1]

It was perhaps a buffalo robe,[2] which, explained by signs, interpreters, and vigorous inference on the part of the monk, became transformed into that of an unicorn.

By this time Fray Marcos had reached the Gila River, probably east of its juncture with the San Pedro, above which it flows through deep and rugged valleys, hemmed in by mountains covered from base to top with a luxuriant growth of cactus of every variety, prominent among which rise the tall columns of the pitahaya, branching like giant candelabra, mingled with mesquite and piñon, and by the impassable cañon of the Pinal Lleños towering above its bed from five hundred to fifteen hundred feet on either side.[3] Here he received news from Estevanico, who with an escort of some three hundred natives, was crossing the wilderness to the north-east through what is now the

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[1] "La color del cuero es á manera de cabron, y el pelo tan largo como el dedo," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 342; *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 77.

[2] Bandelier (*Contributions*, pp. 147-148) thinks it was the mountain sheep, *Ovis Montana*. But in *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 63, he calls it a buffalo robe, which is far more likely.

[3] Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 150; Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, vol. ii., pp. 260 *et passim*; Whipple's Official Report of the Survey of the River Gila, printed in Bartlett, *ibid.*, Appendix D, vol. ii., p. 597; Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. II., pp. 405, 469, 470.

Apache reservation.[1] The negro sent him word that he had not yet surprised a native in telling a lie, that they were absolutely truthful and had described the country precisely as he had found it, a statement to the correctness of which Fray Marcos himself bears witness.[2]

Fray Marcos had taken formal possession of the valley which he had just descended, and had also made an expedition to the coast,[3] travelling at the least over four hundred miles, if the route here assigned him be correct, but of which he has left no details. He now rested a while before following in the tracks of the negro, and prepared for the last stretch of fifteen days' march which lay between him and Cibola. He accepted the services of a large number of the natives who offered to accompany him, and with thirty of the chief men and others to carry provisions and the merchandise which he had brought with him for exchange or gifts, he set out on the 9th of May, 1539, to cross the unpeopled wilderness beyond.[4]

The first day he followed a broad and much-travelled trail, sleeping near a stream[5] in a hut which he found had been prepared for him in advance; about him were traces of the negro's passage. Thus he advanced for twelve days through rough mountains, on whose elevated tops the snows still lingered, over some pass between the Sierra Mogoyon and the Sierra Blanca, the ranges at the southern edge of the great plateau of the continental divide. It was the season of the melting of the snows on the mountain-tops, and the streams were beginning to run full in their narrow beds; behind him, in the Gila lowlands was left the brilliant vegetation of a semitropical climate, and as he made the rapid ascent to the high plateau through the pine area around the base of the mountains, straggling piñon and gnarled cedars showed in sombre contrast to the vivid colouring he had left behind.[1] He was plentifully supplied with game by his Indian escort, deer, rabbits, and partridges, whose taste he likened to those of Spain.[2] "Here met vs an Indian," continues Fray Marcos, "the sonne of one of the chieffe men that accompanied mee, which had gone before with Stephan, who came in a great fright, hauing his face and body all couered with sweat, and shewing exceeding sadness in his countenance."[3] He informed them that Estevanico had reached Cibola, where he had been seized, plundered of his possessions, and imprisoned, with his Indian followers, and that he himself had escaped, after going all night without food or drink, and seeing some of his companions killed by the angry townspeople.[4]

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[1] This is where Mr. Bandelier locates the last "despoblado," *Contributions*, p. 150.

[2] *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 342.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 339.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 342, 343.

[5] "Agua" in the original, which may not necessarily indicate a stream.

The effect produced by this evil and unexpected news upon the Indian escort of the friar can easily be conceived; they had set out with him decked in their gayest dress in the expectation of acquiring wealth for the asking of it, and here not only was the way closed against them, but their countrymen were slain. Perhaps, too, they had looked upon the friar and his negro envoy as potent and invulnerable medicine-men, for Fray Marcos accompanied all his actions with the sign of the cross,[5] a symbol used by the natives to indicate a star;[1] he had even taught them its use, as an invocation, and mysteriously corresponded with his black and thick-lipped envoy by means of gigantic white crosses. It was now evident to them that the white man's magic was of no avail. They burst into tears, and for a while Fray Marcos was in fear of his life. Withdrawing from the Indians for a while, he commended himself to God, beseeching Him for guidance and enlightenment in his difficult position. He then returned to his escort, cut open the bales of merchandise, and by distributing their contents among the principal men induced them to continue the advance.

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[1] Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 11, 15, 19; Powell, "Non-Irrigable Lands," *Century Magazine*, vol. xxxix., p. 915; Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*, pp. 70 *et seq.*

[2] The presence of game indicates the Apache reservation; farther west he would have suffered from the absence of water and game.—Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 150.

[3] *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 78.

[4] *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 343.

[5] Lettres de Don Antonio de Mendoza, *Rel. du Voyage de Cibola*, Appendice III., p. 292.

Within a day's march of Cibola, he met two more Indians, covered with blood and wounds, who said that they had escaped from the slaughter of more than three hundred of their companions and gave a further account of the treatment Estevanico had received and his probable death.

> "And having marked what the Indians said, and the evil plight in which I was to continue the journey, as I would wish, I did not fail to regret his loss and mine, and God is my witness, how greatly I longed for someone of whom I could ask counsel and judgment, for I confess that to me they were wanting."[2]

Again he sought to console the natives to the best of his ability, and going to one side remained in prayer for an hour and a half,—as it doubtless appeared to him. When he returned, an Indian who had followed him from Mexico told him his life was threatened, whereupon Fray Marcos divided among the Indians who had accompanied him what remained of the merchandise, in fact all that he had excepting the materials for the mass,[1] told them that if they killed him they would do him no harm, for he would die a Christian and go to heaven, and by dint of alternate cajolings and threats somewhat pacified them.

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[1] Among the New Mexican Pueblos it also indicates the evening and morning star.—Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 128.

[2] *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 346.

But the brave monk was bent upon getting at least a sight of the promised land, which circumstances beyond his control had forbidden him to tread, and he finally persuaded two of the chiefs to accompany him,

> "with whome and with mine Indians and interpreters I followed my way, till I came within sight of Ceuola (Cibola), which is situate on a plaine at the foote of a round hill, and maketh shew to bee a faire citie, and is better seated than any I haue seene in these partes. The houses are builded in order, according as the Indians told me, all made of stone with diuers stories, and flatte roofes, as farre as I could discerne from a mountaine, whither I ascended to viewe the cities."[2]

"The city is greater than that of Mexico,"[3] he adds, but the many-storied villages of these Pueblo Indians, like other products of the hands and brains of man have a fashion of appearing at a distance much larger than they really are.[4]

Looking north from some cliff, clothed with stunted piñon and cedar, Fray Marcos had seen across the arid plain, grey with dusty sage, the pueblo of Hawaikuh, one of the seven cities of which he had heard so often, on the spur of a low, round hill, and beyond it the dark, timber-clad range of the Zuñi mountains.[5] Had Fray

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 419.

[2] *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 347: *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 81.

[3] *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 348.

[4] Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 172, and see page 254, in this volume, on the size of the City of Mexico.

[5] F. W. Hodge, *Am. Anthropologist*, vol. viii., No. 2, April, 1895, "The First Discovered City of Cibola." This was the town attacked by Coronado, and where Mr. Hodge thinks the negro Estevanico was killed. Mr. Bandelier, in *Contributions*, p. 165, and *The Gilded Man*, pp. 155 *et seq.*, gives

Marcos's eyes been sharper, or the distance less, he might have observed that what he had understood to be doorways and entrances were indeed such, not disposed, as he naturally supposed, in the sides of the houses, however, but like hatchways in the flat roofs; he might have seen the ladders stretching from story to story and projecting through the hatchways, and he would have realised that while the turquoise was employed to some extent in architectural decoration, it was far from being in such general use for that purpose as his Indian informants and his own eager desire had induced him to suppose.

Nothing daunted by his proximity to the strange and inhospitable city, Fray Marcos proceeded to raise a heap of stones, which he surmounted with a small cross, shaped perhaps with branches broken from some neighbouring tree, "having no implements at hand to make it larger," and took possession of the visible but intangible domain before him, and of the unseen Marata and Totonteac, in the name of the viceroy and the emperor, bestowing upon them the name of the New Kingdom of St. Francis in honour of the founder of his Order. This completed, the monk turned his face southward, anxious to get home. "I returned," he quaintly observes, "with much more fear than victuals,"[1] overtaking his escort, which apparently had not waited for him. Making the greatest haste he could, he retraced his steps, finding to his terror, as he passed back through the San Pedro Valley, that he was not as well treated as before. He stopped only to take possession, and that, too, at a dis-

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Kiakima as the town seen by Fray Marcos, a conclusion which I think Mr. Hodge has completely disproved. Mr. Victor Mindeleff ("Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 80) describes the present appearance of Hawaikuh, and in Plate XLVII. gives a view of it. Bancroft (*Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 44) observes that "Granada stood on a rocky mesa; . . . the one seen by Niza, if he saw any, was in the valley."

[1] "Y así me volví con harto mas temor que comida," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 348.

tance, of the upper Yaqui Valley, and, failing to find Coronado at San Miguel, soon reached Compostella, where he reported the results of his mission to the father provincial and to the viceroy, to whom his written report was submitted early in September.[1]

The actual results of the exploration must have been fraught with some degree of disappointment to Mendoza, for in not a single instance did the monk say he had seen either gold or silver or precious stones, except the greenish turquoise. But what he had gathered from the Indians in the way of rumours, and the actual sight of a city, gave promise of ample returns. The following year Fray Marcos de Niza was elected provincial of his Order,[2] an appointment in which it is not unreasonable to suppose that viceregal influence counted for something, as indeed Castañeda asserts.[3]

From three of his contemporaries and from later historians Fray Marcos has been the victim of a most undeserved abuse, earning at the hands of some, with whom it was an easier matter to make a sweeping condemnation than to weigh nicely the conditions, the title of "the lying monk." The epithet appears to be wholly unwarranted. Difficulties there are, and serious ones at that, in reconciling his story with the route which recent authorities have supposed he followed; but when it is remembered that he conversed with the natives through interpreters and by signs, that we have but one half of his report, that he distinguishes between fact and hearsay, that there are reasonable grounds to question the sincerity of the two most important witnesses against him, and that he had nothing to gain by a lie which could be so easily disproved, it is the part, not of charity, but of justice not only to give him the benefit of the doubt, but also to absolve him from all intentional exaggeration in relation to information acquired through such devious and uncertain channels.[1]

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[1] It was completed before the 2nd of September, 1539. *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 350.

[2] Bandelier, *Contributions*, pp. 90, 108.

[3] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 420.

The fate of the negro slave, Estevanico, the first member of an alien race to visit the New Mexican pueblos, deserves more than a passing mention. It cannot now be reconstructed with any great degree of accuracy, but some characteristic details remain. The sensual and avaricious disposition of the negro had rendered him objectionable to Fray Marcos,[2] to whom he had been ordered by the viceroy to render implicit obedience.[3] What then was more natural than that, on his departure from Vacapa and escape from the surveillance of the monk, Estevanico should proceed on his way with all the assumption of authority to which he believed himself entitled as an envoy of the viceroy, and with all the assurance acquired in his previous experience among the natives in crossing the continent.

He travelled with savage magnificence, gaily dressed with bells and feathers fastened about his arms and legs.[4] He carried with him a gourd decorated with bells and two feathers, one white and the other red. This gourd he sent before him by messengers as a symbol of authority and to command obedience, as he had seen successfully done in the western part of Texas, when in company with Cabeça de Vaca. He was followed by two Spanish greyhounds,[1] and attended by a number of handsome women, with whom he had been presented or whom he had perhaps demanded from the unwilling natives along his route. He carried with him turquoises and other objects, gifts obtained perhaps in the same fashion, and he was escorted by a retinue of Indians, bearing his provisions and effects, who believed that they could travel with impunity under his protection.[2]

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[1] How uncertain was this mode of communication, Coronado, one of his accusers, bears witness to in his letter to the emperor, where he says, "Y aunque, como á V. M. escribí, por ser relacion de indios y mas por señas, no les dí crédito," etc. Carta de Francisco Coronado al Emperador, *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 363.

[2] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 418; Coronado's letter, *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 132.

[3] Instructions, *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 326.

[4] Alarcon, *Rel. du Voyage de Cibola*, Appendice IV., p. 331; Herrera, vol iii., dec. 6, lib. ix., cap. xv., p. 211.

In absolute disobedience of Fray Marcos's orders to await him, Estevanico proceeded on his way until within a day's march of Cibola, when he sent messengers bearing his gourd in advance of him to the city to notify the chief that he came to treat for peace and to cure the sick. As soon as they had delivered the gourd to the chief and he had observed the bells, he became very angry, cast the gourd on the ground, and exclaimed: "I know those people; for those bells are not of our fashion; tell them to return at once, or not a single man of them will be left alive." And he continued to be very angry. The messengers returned sadly to Estevanico, fearing to relate to him what had happened; but they finally decided to tell him. But he, in nowise appalled by their reception, told them to fear nothing, that he wished to go there, and that although they had given him an ill answer they would receive him well. So he went on and reached Cibola at sunset with his company of more than three hundred men and many women besides. He was not allowed to enter the town, but was given a house with good lodgings outside of it. Then, by order of the chief, Estevanico was stripped of all that he had, and both food and drink were refused to him and his company. The next morning, "when the sun was about a lance high," Estevanico left the house accompanied by some of the chiefs, when suddenly a great number of the townspeople appeared, and seeing them Estevanico and those of his suite began to run. They were pursued and slain, only the two Indians who brought the news to Fray Marcos succeeding in making their escape.[1] Such at least was the report they brought, and they believed that Estevanico had been killed by arrows.

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[1] Niza, "Rel.," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 338.

[2] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 418-419.

Whether the people of Cibola had taken Estevanico for a spy of some nation which had come to conquer them, as Castañeda[2] relates, or whether the befeathered gourd was not "good medicine," as Mr. Bandelier[3] surmises, he had irritated the natives, and the chiefs in the council had resolved upon his death. The manner in which the sentence was executed is not known with certainty, but it is said that his body was divided into pieces and distributed among the chiefs to satisfy them of his death.[4]

To-day, after a lapse of three centuries and a half, the memory of the killing of the Black Mexican still lingers in a Zuñi pueblo, and cannot be better told than in the picturesque legend from the lips of one of their own people. The legend, as Mr. Cushing has recovered it, places the event at Kiakima, in the Zuñi Plain, under the shadow of the great flat mesa of Thunder Mountain, which rises one thousand feet above it. By what strange process of Indian tradition it has been assigned to that pueblo we cannot tell, for the evidence seems to point to Hawaikuh as the place of his killing.[5]

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[1] Niza, "Rel.," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 345. Coronado, in his relation (*Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 132), reports that the negro was said to have insulted the women.

[2] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 419.

[3] Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 116.

[4] Alarcon, *Rel. du Voyage de Cibola*, p. 331.

[5] Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 157, "De aqui fuimos . . . al dicho pueblo i primero de Cibola . . . i aqui mataron a Estevanillo." Coronado, in his letter of 1540 from Granada, says the Indians "killed him here" (*Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 563, Winship's trans.). Fray

"It is to be believed[1] that a long time ago, when roofs lay over the walls of Kya-ki-me, when smoke hung over the house-tops, and the ladder-rounds were still unbroken in Kya-ki-me, then the Black Mexicans came from their abodes in Everlasting Summerland. One day, unexpectedly, out of Hemlock Cañon they came, and descended to Kya-ki-me. But when they said they would enter the covered way, it seems that our ancients looked not gently at them; for with these Black Mexicans came many Indians of So-no-li, as they call it now, who carried war feathers and long bows and cane arrows like the Apaches, who were enemies of our ancients. Therefore, these our ancients, being always bad-tempered, and quick to anger, made fools of themselves after their fashion, rushed into their town and out of their town, shouting, skipping, and shooting with sling-stones and arrows and tossing their war-clubs. Then the Indians of So-no-li set up a great howl, and thus they and our ancients did much ill to one another. Then and thus was killed by our ancients, right where the stone stands down by the arroyo of Kya-ki-me, one of the Black Mexicans, a large man, with chilli lips,[2] and some of the

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Geronimo de Zarate Salmeron, in 1626, "mentions positively Hauicu as the Civola of Fray Marcos and of Coronado" (Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 171). Mr. Bandelier (in *Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 338, and in *Doc. Hist. Zuñi*, p. 29) identifies the Cibola of Coronado with Hauicu (Hawaikuh); an identification accepted by Mr. Winship, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 389, note 1. Yet, in *Contributions*, p. 154, and *Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 337, Bandelier accepts the evidence of the location given in the two traditions collected by Mr. Cushing, which place the killing at Kiakima, and in *The Gilded Man*, p. 185, he says Coronado went, not to Hauicu, but to Kiakima, because the negro was killed there. F. W. Hodge, in "The First Discovered City of Cibola," *Am. Anthropol.*, vol. viii., No. 2, April, 1895, gives the reasons for supposing the killing to have been at Hawaikuh and not at Kiakima. Alarcon reports that Esteban's body was divided up and distributed among the chiefs, and the sight of some of these parts may have been the evidence upon which Coronado and Jaramillo based their belief.

[1] Extract from a lecture delivered by Mr. Frank H. Cushing in Boston, Mass. I am indebted to Mr. Cushing for the permission to publish the legend.

[2] Lips swelled from eating chilli peppers.

Indians they killed, catching others. Then the rest ran away, chased by our grandfathers, and went back toward their country in the Land of Everlasting Summer. But after they had steadied themselves and stopped talking, our ancients felt sorry, for they thought 'Now we have made bad business for after a while these black people and So-no-li Indians, being angered, will come again.' So they felt always in danger from fear, and went about watching the bushes. By and by they did come back, these Black Mexicans, and with them many men of So-no-li. They wore coats of iron, and war-bonnets of metal, and carried for weapons short canes that spit fire and made thunder, so said our ancients, but they were guns, you know. They frightened our bad-tempered fathers so badly that their hands hung down by their sides like the hands of women. And this time these black, curl-bearded people drove our ancients about like slave-creatures.

"One of these coats of iron has hung a long time in Isleta, and there people say you may see it. After that the Black Mexicans were peaceful, they say; but they went away, and sometimes came back, it seems, and never finished making anger with our ancients, it seems. Thus it was in the days of Kya-ki-me. That is why there are two kinds of Mexicans, good and bad, white and black. And the white are good to our people; but the black ones like troublesome beasts."

CHAPTER VI

THE CONQUEST OF NEW MEXICO—EXPEDITIONS OF ALARCON, DIAZ, CORONADO, CARDENAS, AND OTHERS

THE announcement of the monk's discovery, made, as it was, in the interests of the viceroy Mendoza, produced much the same effect upon the rival claimants for the northern territory as the proverbial bone thrown into the midst of a pack of hungry dogs. A scamper for possession followed almost immediately, while legal proceedings were instituted in the mother country, where Cortés, Guzman, Alvarado, and even De Soto, lost as he then was in the wilderness east of the Mississippi, each represented by an attorney, urged his right to the prize in view of the particular grant under which each claimed possession.[1] The wisdom of Mendoza in imposing secrecy upon the report sent back by the monk was thus amply justified.

At least two months before the arrival of the monk in the City of Mexico, rumours of some kind had reached Cortés definite enough to induce him to send out Francisco de Ulloa on a northern expedition from the port of Acapulco (July 3, 1539), where his fleet had for some time remained in readiness. Ulloa ascended the Gulf of California for a considerable distance, and then rounded the peninsula, to which he was the first to apply its present name, but failed in the discovery of the new territory.[1] Not content with this single effort, the conqueror of Mexico accused Fray Marcos of deceit,[2] demanded that Mendoza's expeditions should be prevented by royal order, and proposed to continue his own explorations.[3] It was all in vain. In the early part of the following year, Cortés and his son departed for Spain never again to set foot within the empire he had won for his royal master.[4]

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[1] Proceso del Marqués, *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xv., pp. 300-408; also cited in Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i., p. 78, note.

Another contestant, also on the spot, was Pedro de Alvarado, who made the famous leap in the retreat of the Noche Triste. A former officer of Cortés and later governor of Guatemala, he had obtained concessions to explore the South Sea as early as 1526. Tactfully won over by Mendoza, Alvarado had already ranged himself and the large fleet at his command under the viceroy, in virtue of mutual agreements by which they were to share equally in each other's discoveries and conquests. Alvarado, however, took no part in Mendoza's subsequent expeditions and was killed in the Indian insurrection of 1540 to 1542, and on the death of his wife the entire fleet passed into the hands of Mendoza.[5]

No sooner did the governor, Don Francisco de Coronado, who had just returned from his Topia[6] expedition, find that Fray Marcos was at Culiacan, than he hastened to dispatch Melchior Diaz and Juan de Saldivar with a dozen determined horsemen to reconnoitre the new country, substantiate the Fray's relation, and to assert the authority of the viceroy before the publication of the discovery should arouse the cupidity of the rival claimants. These necessary precautions taken, Coronado, accompanied by the monk, hurried to the City of Mexico, where they must have arrived by the end of August, 1539.

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[1] Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 35; *North Mexican States*, vol. i., p. 47; *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iv., p. 193. Ulloa's relation, English version, is given in *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 319. Ulloa returned in May, 1540.

[2] In the Memorial of Cortés, quoted in the Introduction to *Doc. para la Historia de Mexico*, vol. ii., p. xxviii., by Sr. Don Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta, and in Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 17. See also Appendix Q, this volume, "The Truthfulness of Fray Marcos."

[3] "Proceso del Marqués," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xv., p. 317; Gomara liv. ii., chap. 99, p. 192; liv. vi., chap. 17, p. 466, Fumée's trans.

[4] Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, vol. iii., bk. vii., cap. v. New York, 1846.

[5] "Asiento y capitulacion entre el virei," etc., *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 351; Bandelier, *Contributions*, pp. 72, 105; Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i., p. 96.

[6] Topira. See p. 261.

And now in the City of Mexico, rebuilt on the ruins of the Aztec capital, with its small foreign population of truculent cavaliers, men of good family and high rank, "floating about like corks upon water," says Mota Padilla, eager for adventure, fortune, and fame; unemployed soldiers longing for the licence of a campaign; monks and priests zealous for the salvation of souls; negro and Indian slaves, and trembling bands of treacherous native allies ever ready to conspire and revolt, was spread abroad the astounding news of the discovery of the Seven Cities for which Guzman had sought in vain.[1] The Church, justly proud of the single-handed achievement of one of her servants, told the story from every pulpit; the Franciscans extolled the success of a highly favoured member of their Order; Coronado whispered the details into the ears of his most intimate friends; and Fray Marcos, clad perhaps in the identical travel-stained habit of grey Zaragoça cloth in which he had made his discovery and with which Coronado had presented him, related his marvellous adventures to every eager listener, including his barber, painting the famous cities as a very terrestrial paradise, says one author, until the whole city resounded with it.[1]

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[1] Lettre de Don Antonio de Mendoza à l'Empereur Charles V., 2ème lettre, *Relation du Voyage de Cibola*, Appendice, pp. 290 *et seq.*, and in *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. ii., p. 356; Mota Padilla (*Hist de la Conquista de la Provincia de la Nueva-Galicia*), cap. xxii., sec. 2, p. 111 (Mexico, 1870), quoted by Winship, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 476, note 2; "Relacion de la Jornada de Cibola compuesta por Pedro de Castañeda de Naçera," *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 420. In this exhaustive and painstaking work of Mr. George Parker Winship will be found all of the important references cited in this chapter, as well as a number of maps and other information bearing upon the subject.

What wonder that in a few short weeks the viceroy was enabled to raise a noble company of over three hundred Spaniards! Herrera,[2] however, anxious to set a limit to the credulity of his countrymen, says that the Fray's relation was not believed in by all men as to the wealth and magnificence of those countries. A large number of the gentlemen were mounted, some having even two horses. There were eight hundred Indian allies and some small field pieces, culverines, which afterwards proved quite insufficient against the Pueblo villages. Sheep and cows were driven along with the army to keep it supplied with fresh meat.[3] So distinguished was the array — for its number the most brilliant yet assembled in the New World, says one historian of the expedition — that the viceroy, after naming Coronado captain-general, would gladly have given a captaincy to each of the gentlemen; but as the common soldiers were few, he found himself compelled to select the officers in person, trusting that the high esteem in which he was held by all would enforce upon these haughty hidalgos that subordination to their general which was essential to the discipline of the army.[1] In this he was not mistaken; throughout the long and trying campaign in which opportunities for independent action and insubordination were constantly presenting themselves, although some of his officers were guilty of injudicious and high-handed acts, there was not a single instance of disobedience of orders until at the very end of the final and dispiriting retreat. It is a remarkable tribute to the loyalty of these Spanish adventurers, many of them of such rank and influence that any ordinary infraction of discipline on their part could easily have gone unpunished.

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[1] Venegas, *Noticia de la California*, vol. i., pte. ii., sec. iii., p. 164; Niza, *Rel. du Voyage de Cibola*, p. 266; Suarez de Peralta, *Noticias*, pp. 143, 148, 149, cited in Bancroft's *Arizona*, p. 37, and in Winship's Introduction, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 364–365; deposition of Andrés Garcia, *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xv., pp. 392–398, cited by Winship, *ibid.*, p. 366, note 1.

[2] Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 6, lib. vii., cap. viii., p. 159.

[3] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 420, 469; Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 6, lib. ix., cap. xi., p. 204. "Fragmento de la Visita hecha á Don Antonio de Mendoza" (*Doc. para la Hist. de Mexico*, vol. ii., p. 72, sec. 199, quoted by Winship, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 479) says 250 horsemen and over 1000 horses and pack-mules. Mota Padilla, *ibid.*, cap. xxii., sec. 3, p. 112, also gives an estimate of their numbers. See also testimony concerning those who went on the expedition with Francesco Vasquez Coronado, *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xiv., p. 373 (Winship's translation in *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 596).

Compostella in Nueva Galicia was set for the place of meeting, whither early in January of the following year, 1540,[2] the army assembled in good order. Here the viceroy in person joined the troops and passed them in review. Of this ceremony Mr. Winship[3] has given a vivid description.

> "It was a splendid array as it passed in review before Mendoza and the officials who helped and watched him govern New Spain, on this Sunday in February, 1540. The young cavaliers curbed the picked horses from the large stock farms

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 420.

[2] The viceroy's letter, dated April 17, 1540, in *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 290 (also in *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. ii., p. 356), gives the approximate date, in which he mentions the departure of Coronado and the incident of the camp-master's death. Both Davis (*The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 144) and Prince (*Hist. of New Mexico*, pp. 118–119) say the army set out from Compostella in January, 1541, but they were guided, apparently, by the erroneous date given by Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 421.

[3] *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 378.

> of the viceroy, each resplendent in long blankets flowing to the ground. Each rider held his lance erect, while his sword and other weapons hung in their proper places at his side. Some were arrayed in coats of mail, polished to shine like that of their general, whose gilded armour with its brilliant trappings was to bring him many hard blows a few months later. Others wore iron helmets or vizored head-pieces of the tough bullhide for which the country has ever been famous. The footmen carried crossbows and harquebuses, while some of them were armed with sword and shield. Looking on at these white men with their weapons of European warfare was the crowd of native allies in their paint and holiday attire, armed with the club and the bow of an Indian warrior."

The viceroy swore them all upon a "missel containing the Gospels" not to desert their general and to obey him in all things. In the latter part of the same month the army began its march accompanied two days on its way by the viceroy.

Shortly after the departure of the troops (March 20th), the viceroy received a letter from Melchior Diaz, sent by the hand of Saldovar, giving an account of his expedition. While full of detail interesting to the historian, and confirming substantially the story of Fray Marcos, it gave but scant promise of the wealth in search of which the expedition was undertaken. Leaving Culiacan on the 17th of November, 1539,[1] Diaz and his companions, after travelling some two hundred and sixty miles, entered a very cold region. On reaching the coast some of the Indians were frozen to death, and despairing of crossing the wilderness that separated him from Cibola, because of the heavy snows and the great cold, he concluded to winter where he was, sending back a report of what information he had gathered from the Indians. The natives whom he had thus far visited, said Diaz, had mostly no fixed homes, and "the only profit to be derived from them would be in Christianising them," "as if," observes the viceroy, who relates the expedition to the emperor, "this were a small matter!" They lived in houses made of mats, and received the cross, which he carried, with profound veneration. Mountain sheep were found in their country. He appended a circumstantial account of Cibola and its customs gathered from the natives, from whose vague signs and gesticulations he erroneously concluded that these Pueblo Indians were cannibals. He heard of the famous Salines two days' journey from Cibola,[1] and was much impressed by the account of the musical skill of the villagers, who, he was told, sang in harmony to an accompaniment of flutes, and beating time. But most important of all, he had failed in obtaining any information as to the existence of metals,—real gold; none of the Indians reported that any was to be found in the country.

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[1] The viceroy's letter of April 17, 1540, in *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 290 (also in *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. ii., p. 356), gives Diaz's report.

Mendoza had gained the impression, probably from some of the vague inferences and expressions of Fray Marcos, that the route to Cibola which the army would follow lay along the western coast. Determined to neglect no means of assuring the success of his enterprise, he ordered two vessels, under the command of Hernando de Alarcon, to call at Jalisco for the equipments which Coronado's army was unable to transport, and then to follow up the coast in order to keep in communication with him. March 9, 1540, shortly after the departure of the army, Alarcon set sail with the *San Pedro* and the *Santa Catalina*, either from the port of La Natividad[2] or that of Acapulco,[3] and, proceeding to the port of Aguaiauale, learned there of Coronado's departure.[1] Here the *San Gabriel* joined his fleet with provisions for the troops, and he proceeded up the coast. Reaching the shoals where Ulloa's vessels had turned back, he passed through the channel with great difficulty, on account of the powerful current, and entered the head of the Gulf of California.[2]

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[1] Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 342, note 1) says the distance in a direct line is forty-five miles, and Diaz's statement is correct.

[2] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 421.

[3] *North Mexican States*, vol. i., p. 90.

The shores on either hand had gradually closed in until the breadth of the gulf was but five or six miles. Far away to the east, rising like islands out of the surrounding desert, and westward, across the barren level stretches, irregular mountain summits closed in the horizon. Ahead, through broad, low mud-bottoms, which stretched from bank to bank, flowed the turbid Rio Colorado of the West, ruddy in colour, as its name indicates, sweeping in the mighty spring tides far over the alluvial bottoms, changing the line of its shores and of its channels, now building shifting bars and sedge-grown islands, and again whirling them away with its ever restless current.[3] In was Thursday, the 26th of August, and Alarcon's ships could scarcely hold their own in the fierce tide which rushes up and down the stream without intermission or slack water of any kind, the incoming flood meeting the retreating ebb and forming a great tidal wave or "bore," which, with the thunder of a cataract, ascends for miles the narrowing and tortuous river channel.[1]

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[1] "Relacion de la Navigation et de la Découverte faite par le Capitaine Fernando Alarcon," in *Voyage de Cibola*, Appendice IV., p. 299; English version in *Hak.*, vol. iv., p. 1.

[2] As to whether or not the Spaniards had any previous knowledge of the Rio Colorado, see Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 14, and *Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 376, with an extract from Guzman's relation in note 1, making the earliest date 1529.

[3] Lieut. J. C. Ives, "Report upon the Colorado River of the West," *Senate Ex. Doc.*, pp. 25–28, 40–48, Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session; "Geology," etc., in *ibid.*, pt. iii., pp. 19–20; Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*, vol. ii., pp. 156–185; Capt. L. Sitgreaves, "Report of an Expedition down the Zuñi and Colorado Rivers," *Senate Ex. Doc.*, p. 40, Thirty-third Congress, First Session.

In the face of such difficulties Alarcon concluded to proceed up the river in two of his boats, leaving the third with the ships to await his return. Taking with him twenty men, the treasurer, the *contador* of the fleet and some small cannon, he began his journey up the stream, laboriously dragging the boats a distance of six leagues before night.[2] The following day he saw some Indians entering their huts on the river's edge. At first they showed great fright, but soon assembled in large numbers and with hostile threats signalled him to return; but by tactful advances their confidence was soon won, and they signalled their wish to see an arquebuse fired; this Alarcon did, to the terror of all except two or three old men who remained perfectly tranquil, and even scolded their companions for showing signs of fear. Alarcon landed, but one of the old men struck him a blow full in the chest, and, wishing to avoid unnecessary conflict, he withdrew to his boat and continued up the stream under a breeze which opportunely arose. He passed the night in midstream, as the natives had gathered in force on the bank.

These Cocopa Indians,[3] occupying then, as now, the lower course of the Colorado, had half and some of them all of the face stained; they wore on the head a leather ornament decorated with feathers and small sticks, hung rings and pendants from their ears and pierced nostrils, blackened their bodies with charcoal, while some were tattooed with fire, and rejoiced in a caudal appendage consisting of a bunch of feathers hanging from a particoloured cord which encircled the waist. Their arms were bows and arrows with wooden clubs hardened in the fire. The women went naked except for two great bunches of feathers which hung in front and behind them, while both sexes wore the hair cut short in front and down to the waist behind.[1]

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[1] The "bore" rises from four to seven feet and in shallow places sometimes ten or twelve feet.—Ives's "Report," p. 28 in *ibid.*; "Hydrographic Report," in *ibid.*, pt. ii., p. 8.

[2] Alarcon, *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 302.

[3] The Cocopa Indians are described as occupying the lowest course of the river, where the water is still sweet, by Zárate-Salmeron, in "Relacion de todas las cosas que en el Nueuo México se han Uisto y Sabido assí por Mar como por Tierra," MS. quoted in *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 106, note 1; and see *Contributions*, p. 157.

Alarcon continued up the river, passing the night in his boats in the middle of the stream, as before, to guard against surprise. On each side of him stretched the broad, monotonous flats,[2] and beyond them the desolate expanse of the desert. He constantly maintained a strictly peaceful attitude, distributed little crosses among the natives who crowded down to the river bank to see him, and impressed upon their ready credulity the conviction that he was himself a child of the sun sent to bring them peace, so winning upon them that they called him master, and day after day helped drag his boats against the current.

Some of the Indian chiefs cross-questioned him as to his origin with considerable ability, and from them Alarcon learned of an ancient tradition to the effect that in a distant country there lived white and bearded men like himself.[3] The Indians informed him that in some cases their prisoners of war were burned, and in others their hearts were torn out and eaten. Along the river-banks were many tribes speaking a great variety of dialects.[4] They were monogamous; a widower remained six months or a year unmarried; an adulterer was put to death, and the medicine-men cured the sick by speaking a charm over them and breathing upon them. They lived on the mountain-side in communal huts made of wood, and plastered inside with earth, coming down to the river in summer to plant, and returning after the harvest. A mountain was pointed out to him, which was the home of a tribe at war with the river Indians, and who dressed in deerskins which they sewed with needles made from the bones of the deer, and who traded these hides for Indian corn.

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[1] Alarcon, *Voyage de Cibola*, pp. 307–308.

[2] Ives, "Report" in *ibid.*, p. 47.

[3] He twice met with this tradition, *Voyage de Cibola*, pp. 315, 319.

[4] Alarcon, *ibid.*, p. 320.

Alarcon now began to hear reports of Cibola, which he was told lay at a distance of thirty days' journey.[1] Higher up, among a more civilised people, he heard the story of Estevanico's death, and that of one of the hounds which had accompanied him, and met with natives who had visited Cibola. Still higher up he got details of the manner of the negro's death, learned of bison off to the eastward,[2] and, to his no small annoyance, that bearded men like himself, armed with swords and firearms, who called themselves Christians, had made their appearance at Cibola.[3] These were of the advance army under Coronado, who had already penetrated thus far, as will be shortly related; but it placed Alarcon in a curious predicament, for, having proclaimed himself a child of the sun, which was an object of adoration for most of these tribes of Yuma and Mojave Indians,[4] who lived along the lower course of the Colorado, and as such acted the peacemaker, he was compelled to disguise his close connection with these other new arrivals, whose mission was anything but peace.

Alarcon learned that but ten days' march across a wilderness was a region inhabited all the way to Cibola. In vain he sought to prevail upon his soldiers to carry the news of his proximity to Coronado, but not a man of them dared tempt the unknown desert, except a single negro slave who, unwillingly enough, consented to be the messenger; but he was not compelled to go. Still farther up the river he heard exaggerated accounts of the horses and cows which accompanied Coronado, until, fearing lest his identity be discovered, he concluded to return to his fleet, though much against the will of his savage hosts, who feared they would lose him forever.[1] It took but two days and a half to descend the rapid current of the river the ascent of which had consumed over two weeks.[2] He found all well aboard his ships, but anxious on account of his prolonged absence. He careened the *San Pedro*, making some necessary repairs, and built an oratory to Our Lady of Buena Guia, whose name, which formed part of the motto of the viceregal arms, he had bestowed upon the river.

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[1] Alarcon, *ibid.*, p. 324. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 331. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 334.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 329; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 106–108.

Determined to make a junction with Coronado despite the opposition of his companions, Alarcon again started, on Tuesday, the 14th of September, to ascend the river, attended by Nicola Camorano, his head pilot, to take the altitudes, and by a fife and drum, presumably to impress the Indians. On this occasion he pushed higher up than before, passing between the picturesque mountains which close in upon the river in the vicinity of Fort Yuma, above the mouth of the Gila, where they rise in strange, castellated shapes from the banks of the stream, destitute of vegetation, except for the cactus and occasionally mesquite, cottonwood, and willow along the shore.[3] No attempt was made by the Indians to stay his advance, except the planting by a wizard of a magical barrier of reeds on each side of the stream, through which he passed unharmed. In this neighbourhood, distant eighty-five leagues from the mouth of the Colorado, at a locality supposed to be that of Fort Yuma,[4] Alarcon erected a great cross and secreted letters subsequently found by Diaz. He also obtained from an Indian what was perhaps a rough map traced on paper of the course of the river and of the distribution of the people along its banks.[1] The return down the river was uneventful save for one of those little unobtrusive incidents which shows our kinship in the domain of passions, even with those naked savages.

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[1] Alarcon, *ibid.*, pp. 336, 337.

[2] Alarcon (*ibid.*, p. 339) says he was fifteen days and a half.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 341, 345; Ives, "Report" in *ibid.*, pp. 48 *et seq.*

[4] Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 107, note 2) accounts for Alarcon's

> "Thus sayling downe the streame, a woman leapt into the water crying vnto vs to stay for her, and shee came into our boate, and crept vnder a bench, from whence we could not make her to come out: I vnderstood that shee did this, because her husband had taken vnto him another wife, by whom hee had children, saying that she ment not to dwell any longer with him, seeing he had taken another wife."[2]

Having rejoined his ships, Alarcon started on the return journey, running along the coast, landing frequently, and still persisting in the vain endeavour to find Coronado by sending reconnoitring parties into the interior. Nothing further was learned beyond what the river tribes had already told him. "I bring with me a great number of acts of taking possession made on that shore and on the river," says Alarcon in his account, which he promised to amplify in a more extended relation, a promise which was not fulfilled.[3] At the port of

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failure to note the Gila's mouth because of the lowness of the stream from August to October. Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, vol. i., p. 93) says: "The mountains with a medium estimate of distance would seem to indicate a part of the Colorado above the Gila and below Bill Williams Fork." But he observes that Diaz found the letters at an estimated distance of but fifteen leagues from the mouth. And see *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 35. Lieutenant Ives observes that the distance by land is about one half of that by following the river, which he found very tortuous.

[1] Bancroft (*North Mexican States*, vol. i., p. 81) gives a copy of the map made by Castillo, one of Alarcon's pilots; a far better one is given in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 444.

[2] *Hak.*, vol. iv., p. 38.

[3] Alarcon, *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 342; He observes (p. 347) that Ulloa's

Colima, Alarcon came across the fleet of Pedro de Alvarado; as there was some conflict of authority, he delivered his report to Don Luis del Castillo and sailed away at night "to avoid scandal." The following year the viceroy again directed Alarcon to prosecute his discovery and renew the attempt to communicate with Coronado,[1] but the proposed expedition never sailed.

Scarcely had the army under Coronado left Compostella before it began to experience those hardships inseparable from a serious campaign. The baggage had to be transported on horseback, while the horses were fat and unaccustomed to fatigue, and many of the soldiers did not know how to load them. As in the early stages of all long marches, much luggage was thrown aside or given away, and under the harsh discipline of necessity many a gentleman turned muleteer, without derogation to his dignity, says Castañeda,[2] the historian of the expedition, himself but a common soldier in its ranks.

At last, with great labour and difficulty, Chiametla was reached, where the expedition rested and was rejoined by Melchior Diaz and Juan de Saldivar, who had penetrated perhaps as far as the confines of southern Arizona.[3] While Coronado was waiting at Chiametla, the death of the camp-master, Lope de Samaniego, killed by an Indian arrow in a village, was avenged by the hanging of every native who appeared to belong to the place. It can well be imagined that when their report, though

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captains were mistaken by two degrees; Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i., p. 93, note 32.

[1] "Instruccion que debia observar el capitan Hernando de Alarcon," etc., dated May 31, 1541, in *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 1.

[2] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 422.

[3] Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 342, note 1). Bancroft (*Arizona*, p. 37, and *North Mexican States*, vol. i., p. 83) thinks Diaz may have reached the Gila River; Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 422, says Chichilticale on the edge of the desert, which would be to the east of the Rio San Pedro.

secretly communicated to Coronado, became known throughout the camp, it proved anything but inspiriting. However, Fray Marcos, who with other priests and monks was in attendance upon the army, encouraged the soldiers with promise of better things. After resting a while, the march was continued to Culiacan, over rough and mountainous roads, and across rivers and streams, in the passing of which most of the corn brought to provision the army was spoiled. The gentlemen of the company carried on their own backs and on their horses a little food, and reduced their necessary clothing to a pound in weight,[1] while the soldiers made forays on the hostile Indians in search of food, living off the country. On Easter eve, Culiacan was reached and a triumphal entry made on Easter Monday, to the great delight of the citizens.

As, according to Diaz's report, the country beyond was but scantily supplied with provisions, of which there were plenty in Culiacan, and the townsfolk were hospitable, — somewhat with an eye to their profit, hints the historian, — Coronado determined to push on in advance to Cibola with a small party, while the main body remained a few days longer in Culiacan in charge of Don Tristan de Arellano, and Fernandarias de Saavedra as the governor's lieutenant, with orders to follow in fifteen days as far as Sonora, in the valley of the same name, there to await further commands.[2]

Before the governor's departure there occurred an amusing incident, related by Castañeda.[3] Coronado had recently married a young and charming lady, the daughter of the late treasurer, Alonso Destrada,[1] from whom he had been most unwilling to part.

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[1] "Rel. of Vasquez de Coronado," *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 118.

[2] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 423; "Relacion del suceso de la jornada que Francisco Vazquez hizo en el descubrimienio de Civola," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 147; also in *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xiv., p. 318, with the erroneous date of 1531; English translation by Winship, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 572.

[3] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 423.

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"A young soldier named Trugillo (Truxillo) pretended that he had seen a vision while he was bathing in the river, which seemed to be something extraordinary, so that he was brought before the general, whom he gave to understand that the devil had told him that if he would kill the general, he could marry his wife, Doña Beatris, and would receive great wealth and other very fine things. Friar Marcos of Nice preached several sermons on this, laying it all to the fact that the devil was jealous of the good which must result from this journey and so wished to break it up in this way. . . . The general ordered Truxillo to stay in that town and not to go on the expedition, which was what he was after when he made up that falsehood, judging from what afterward appeared to be the truth." [2]

April 22nd, Coronado set out in company with Melchior Diaz, all of the clericals, including Fray Marcos, none of them being willing to remain behind with the main army, eighty horse, twenty-five foot-soldiers, some Indians and negroes, and part of the artillery.[3] It took him nearly a month to reach Los Corazones,[4] in the valley of the Sonora River. It was still so early in the season that the crops had not yet ripened; the route was arduous, over rough mountains and up the dry beds of mountain streams, so that the sheep which followed the march lost their hoofs and had to be left behind; a number of the horses died from fatigue, as well as some of the Indians and negroes. In his letter to the viceroy relating this part of the journey, Coronado did not spare the poor friar who had led him to believe that the way was plain and good.

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[1] *Carta escrita por D. Antonio de Mendoza*, etc., dated Dec. 10, 1537, in *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 128–129.

[2] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, Winship's trans., p. 481.

[3] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 424; "Relacion que dió el Capitan Joan Jaramillo, de la jornada que hizo á la tierra nueva, de la qual fue General Francisco Vazquez de Coronado," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 154; "Relacion del suceso," etc., *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 147; "Coronado, Rel.," *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 117.

[4] See Appendix K in this volume for its location.

Leaving Los Corazones, Coronado followed the route previously travelled by Fray Marcos, ascended the Sonora and descended the San Pedro Valley,[1] and, turning eastward where the lower course of the latter stream becomes impassable, went through or around the rugged chain of the Santa Catalina Mountains which skirt the eastern side of the San Pedro, and reached the famous "red house" of Chichilticale,[2] probably in the neighbourhood of Fort Grant on the southern foot of Mount Graham. Here he rested again for two days, bitterly disappointed at its distance from the sea, where he had hoped to get news of the fleet sent to his support. Coronado now entered upon the last stage of his march, suffering greatly from the absence of grass for his horses,—several of which he lost on the way,—the failure of his provisions, and the death of some of his followers, poisoned by a strange herb they had eaten. Turning northward, he crossed the Gila, and pressed up through the pine forests, finding better grazing along the various streams flowing southward from the edge of the great tableland.[3] Fifteen days' weary travel at last brought him to the banks of the Zuñi River, which he named the Rio Vermejo or Red River, because of its colour and of the troubled appearance of its waters.[4]

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[1] See Appendix S in this volume, "Coronado's Route to Cibola."

[2] Castañeda, *ibid.*, pp. 424, 450; Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 156; "Coronado," *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 120; Winship, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 387 and 516, note 4, accepts the location given by Bandelier. See Appendix P in this volume, "Fray Marcos's Trip to the Sea; the Desert."

[3] Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 156; "Coronado," *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 121; Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. II., pp. 389–399, describes the appearance of the country between Zuñi and Fort Apache through which the course of Coronado lay.

[4] Both Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 424, and Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 156, call it the Rio Vermejo; Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 41, note, and Hodge, in *Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi*,

It was about the 7th of July. North-east of the camp and within two days' march lay the first city of the province of Cibola. The first Indians of the country had been met with on the Rio Vermejo and had welcomed them in a hospitable way, but one night an advance party sent out by Coronado had been valiantly assailed, although the assailants afterwards withdrew at a signal from a trumpet. Signal fires were seen answering each other from place to place, warning the natives of the approach of the enemy, and at night, within two leagues of the town, the main body of the Spaniards had been so terrified at the piercing cries of the Indians, that some soldiers of the new levy had saddled their horses wrong end foremost. There was every indication that the invasion of their territory would be met by the Indians with a stout resistance. Nor were the Spaniards unwilling to do their part. Says one of the little army:

> "What with packing and unpacking like mule drivers, and not having enough to eat, there was more need of a few days' rest than of fighting; still there was not a man in the whole camp who was not joyfully ready for everything, if only the horses would help us out, who were in as great need as their masters."[1]

The next day Coronado moved forward to the attack. This first town of Cibola was Hawaikuh, upon which Fray Marcos de Niza had gazed so longingly; a little village of two hundred houses, about fifteen miles south-west of the present Zuñi, it formed with the outer walls of its terraced houses an irregular polygon, "looking as if it had been

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J. V. Brower, vol. ii., p. 42, agree on the "Zuñi River." Bandelier, *The Gilded Man*, p. 185, thinks it the Zuñi River; that of Jaramillo is the Little Colorado, Castañeda having confused the two. Davis (*Hist. Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 154) and Haynes (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 483), Simpson (*Coronado's March*, p. 28) and Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 398, note 1) call it the Little Colorado.

[1] "Traslado de las Nuevas," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xix., p. 529.

all crumpled up together," says Castañeda, and stood upon a rocky promontory of no very great height overlooking the plains that stretch on the southern side of the Zuñi River. It had a narrow and tortuous entrance, and in the plain below probably lay the garden patches irrigated from the river, the "fields" referred to by Coronado.[1] Every preparation had been made to give the strangers a warm reception; all the old men had been sent away with the women and children, leaving only the warriors to defend the town. As the Spaniards drew near, the Indians proudly sallied out to receive them, and Coronado sent forward two friars with a couple of officers and a body of horsemen to parley. The Spaniards were received with a volley of arrows and so closely pressed that Coronado, giving the war-cry of "Santiago to the rescue!" charged home upon the sallying party and drove it back into the town.

Then the Spaniards, who were in sorry need of food, determined to carry the place by assault. The forces were so divided that the crossbowmen and arquebusiers were to beat the enemy from the terraces, where they were posted in force, while Coronado and some gentlemen, dismounting from their horses, sought to scale the housetops from another side by a ladder which chanced to have been left there. It was no easy matter. Coronado, whose gilded and glittering armour and plumed helmet marked him as leader, became the target for the enemy's shafts. He was wounded several times in the face and foot with arrows and twice stricken down with stones hurled from the house-tops by the defenders, as he struggled to make the ascent, and was carried off wounded from the field. In his letter to the viceroy he said: "Had I not beene defended with an excellent good head-piece which I ware . . . (and) if Don Garcias Lopez de Cardenas, the second time that they strooke mee to the ground had not succoured mee with striding ouer mee like a good knight, I had beene in farre greater danger than I was." [1]

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[1] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 425; "Coronado," *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 124; "Relacion Postrera de Sivola," *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 566. See pp. 275, 280, this volume, for its identification.

Failure also attended the efforts of the crossbowmen; the strings of their bows broke, and the arquebusmen were so weak and feeble that they could not stand. Three horses were slain, seven or eight wounded, and many of the soldiers were struck with arrows and battered with stones, although the general fared worst of all. But St. Iago had not been adjured in vain, for, "as it is impossible to resist the first fury of the Spaniards," adds Castañeda, the town was carried in less than an hour; and the Indians surrendered and withdrew, leaving the strangers in full possession. This first encounter with the Pueblo Indians must have awakened in the doughty heart of Coronado more than one recollection of former years, for he called the town Granada because it bore some resemblance to the Albaicin, and in compliment to the viceroy, who was born there, says Gomara.[2]

Glad enough were the weary and half-starved soldiers to occupy the now deserted houses, in whose storerooms, says the anonymous writer of the Traslado, they "found that of which there was greater need than of gold or silver, which was much corn, and beans, and chickens, better than those of New Spain, and salt, the best and whitest I have seen in all my life." The chickens were wild turkeys which the Pueblos kept for their plumage. Coronado encamped in this neighbourhood for some time, and while recovering from his wounds received a deputation of Indians, who came to offer peace; but the following day the towns were abandoned and the Indians escaped to their refuges among the mountains, taking with them their women and children, together with all of their goods.[1]

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[1] *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 124.

[2] "Coronado," *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 125; "Traslado," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xix., p. 529; Gomara, liv. vi., chap. 17, p. 465, Fumée's trans. It must be confessed that it requires the very vivid imagination of a homesick soldier to see any suggestion of the picturesque and verdant Albaicin in the desolate view pictured in Mr. Mindeleff's photograph of Hawaikuh in *Eighth Ann. Rep. Bur. Eth.*, p. 102.

Shortly after his recovery, the general visited the site of Old Zuñi, distant only a day's march, where, upon the summit of Thunder Mountain,[2] it was reported that the natives were fortifying themselves. He occupied himself with reducing the province, and, that accomplished, dispatched Don Pedro de Tovar with a company of horse and foot to visit the province of Tusayan, the present Moqui in eastern Arizona.[3] Next he wrote a long letter to the viceroy describing the difficulties of his march, the destitution of the army, without raisins, sugar, oil, or wine, except for the saying of mass; describing also the appearance of the country and the seven cities, the customs of the inhabitants, and relating the strange prophecy made among them fifty years before of their eventual conquest by a people like the Spaniards, who should come from the same direction from which they had come.

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[1] "Coronado," *Hak.*, vol. iii., pp. 126, 129.

[2] "Traslado," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xix., p. 529; "Coronado," *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 129; Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 134 and note 1, and *ibid.*, Pt. II., p. 335, note 3) says the pueblo on top of Thunder Mountain (To-yo-a-la-na) was built between 1680 and 1692, after the withdrawal of the Spaniards; Bancroft (*Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 49, note 1) suggests the well-known Inscription Rock east of Zuñi, though the distance as given is too small. On p. 379 of Dr. Coues's *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, vol. ii., F. W. Hodge has given a list of the different names given to the Zuñi.

[3] "Coronado," *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 130; Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 428; "Relacion del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 149; Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 157; Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 170, and *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 114 *et seq.;* Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 46; Hodge, in Brower's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 47; in *Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 367, Mr. Bandelier traces the origin of the name to "Usaya" or "Usaya-Kue," an ancient name by which the Zuñis designated the Moqui pueblos; and see also *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 115, note 1.

He caused two cloths to be painted by the Indians with the beasts, birds, and fish of the region. These, with a picture of the towns made on a piece of parchment found in Hawaikuh, some specimens of coloured crystals, and the letter, he sent to the viceroy by the hands of Juan Gallego, who with Melchior Diaz returned in August, the one to Mexico, the other to join the army under Arellano.[1] With them went Fray Marcos, who, says Castañeda,[2] did not feel himself safe at Cibola, because his report had been found false in every respect.

About the middle of October, Diaz and his party rejoined Arellano at Sonora, on the Sonora River, where, on leaving Culiacan after failing in the attempt to colonise at Los Corazones, he had established a settlement in a convenient locality, and whence he had sent a fruitless expedition down the river to the sea in search of the fleet. Diaz, who brought orders from Coronado directing Arellano to join him at Cibola, remained in charge of the settlement, which consisted of some eighty persons. Gallego and the monk continued their journey to Mexico with the letter to the viceroy, and shortly after, about the middle of September, the army with Arellano in command started on its march.[3]

"The obvious reason" for Fray Marcos's return, says Mr. Bandelier,[4] "was the feeble health of the friar. Hardship and suffering had nearly paralyzed the body of the already aged man. He never recoverd his vigour and died at Mexico, after having in vain sought relief in the delightful climate of Jalapa, in the year 1558."

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[1] "Coronado," *Hak.*, vol. iii., pp. 130, 131. The letter is dated August 3, 1540; and Castañeda (p. 425) says Diaz joined Arellano by the middle of October; Winship, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 484, note 3, says Diaz started in September.

[2] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 426.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 425, 426. He says that Arellano remained behind, but the statements on p. 432 imply the contrary, and Bancroft (*Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 54 and note) says, as I think correctly, that Castañeda is clearly in error when he states that Arellano remained behind.

[4] *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, vol. xv., p. 551.

Melchior Diaz was no lover of inaction. Left in charge of a timorous yet turbulent element, no sooner had Arellano departed than he fitted out a company of twenty-five selected men, and leaving Diego de Alcaraz in command set out to discover the coast with the evident expectation of coming across Alarcon with the fleet. It is not possible to trace his course, but, taking guides, he appears to have travelled in a north-westerly direction [1] until he came across the Colorado River at a point where it was but half a league wide. Here, in great subterranean houses, whose straw-covered roofs alone showed above the ground, he found the Yumas living, as many as one hundred persons of all ages gathered in one house. The natives were of great height and so strong that one man could lift a log that six Spaniards were unable to move.[2] In seasons of severe cold they carried a firebrand to warm the body, changing it from hand to hand, for which reason Diaz called the river Rio del Tizon, or Firebrand. Three hundred years later, Captain Sitgreaves observed this identical custom among the stalwart Mojaves, where fifty or sixty miles due north of Fort Yuma the Mojave River joins the Colorado.[3]

Hearing that vessels had been seen at a point three days' journey below him, Diaz visited the place and found a tree on which was cut: "Alarcon came as far as this." Digging below it he found the letters concealed by Alarcon which informed him that the fleet had returned to New Spain. Bitter as must have been his disappointment, Diaz was in no way disheartened, but proceeded up the stream a distance of five- or six-days' march in search of a ford. At last a place was found where the Spaniards undertook to cross the river on rafts. While this was in process armed Indians were seen gathering in force. Suspicious of treachery, Diaz seized one of the friendly savages who was assisting at the building of the rafts, and, having put him to the torture, discovered that an attack had been planned while the Spanish forces were divided on both banks of the river, and that the Indians on the rafts were to drown the troops crossing with them. Diaz promptly ordered the Indian who had advised the plot to be secretly drowned with a weight attached to his body, lest the savages should learn of the discovery of their plan, and the following day, when the attack began, Diaz drove them away and successfully accomplished the passage with his men and horses.[1] Following the right bank of the river, which took a south-easterly direction, the Spaniards "came upon a spot covered with cinders so hot that it was impossible to walk on it, . . . the earth trembled like a drum . . . and the ashes boiled up in some places in a way that was truly hellish," says Castañeda.[2] So the Spaniards changed the direction of their march.[3]

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 426, says he took a north-westerly direction, which would correspond substantially to that of the Sonora River. The original says, "entre norte y poniente."

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 426 *et seq.* He says Diaz travelled one hundred and fifty leagues, about four hundred miles. See also Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 107, and Winship, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 485, note 2.

[3] Captain L. Sitgreaves, "Report of an Expedition down the Zuñi and Colorado Rivers," in *Senate Ex.*, Thirty-third Congress, First Session, p. 19; Ives (Report, p. 19) thinks these were Mojave Indians; see also *Final Rept.*, Pt. I. p. 108.

One day a dog belonging to one of the soldiers attacked a sheep which they had brought with them. Diaz threw his lance to drive the dog away. The lance stuck in the ground point up, and Diaz, who had started his horse on a gallop, unable to stop him in time, was pierced through the thigh and seriously wounded. The Spaniards therefore turned their steps homeward and though constantly harassed by the Indians, for twenty days bore their wounded leader along with them. But death had laid his hand upon him, and in the trackless desert he was laid in his last resting-place. His is a notable figure among those daring soldiers of fortune who had invaded the New World. Brave, alert, and withal careful and discreet, he was a man in whose judgment and ability his superiors reposed the greatest confidence. Besides commanding these two exploring expeditions, he had led the vanguard for Coronado in the march upon Cibola, being sent forward on several occasions to select the route. He was for several years alcalde of San Miguel of Culiacan, the most northern outpost of the Spaniards in Mexico, a position of much responsibility, and if an advocate of slave-hunting as a commercial necessity,[1] he certainly had a kind heart for his own people, as his treatment of Cabeça de Vaca would indicate. The little company, deprived of their leader, returned safely to Sonora from whence a relation of the results of the exploration was sent to Coronado.[2]

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 427; Mota Padilla (*ibid.*, cap. xxxii., sec. 2, p. 158) says the crossing was made in great baskets smeared with pitch which rendered them water-tight.

[2] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 438.

[3] "Relacion del suceso" (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 149) says Diaz travelled five or six days west of the river.

While the general was still awaiting the arrival of the army from Sonora, Pedro de Tovar returned from his expedition to the province of Tusayan. With a small body of horsemen and Fray Juan de Padilla, a Franciscan monk who had been a fighting man in his youth, he had struck in a north-westerly direction across the Zuñi plateau, finding no towns upon the way until he came secretly and unexpectedly upon the Moqui villages in what is to-day the north-eastern section of Arizona.[1] At the time of Tovar's visit, these villages, though in the same locality as that in which they are found to-day, did not occupy their lofty and picturesque outposts on top of the Moqui mesa, as they do now.[2]

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[1] He had complained to the viceroy that the suppression of the slave-hunting had deprived the Spaniards of his part of Mexico of their means of support.—Letter of Mendoza, of Dec. 10, 1537, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 129.

[2] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 438.

Approaching from the south-east, after passing through the long, low, broken line of towers, buttresses, and pinnacles, fantastic forms into which erosive and other forces of nature have shaped the buttes or hills to the south-east and east, Tovar came upon a broad and barren plain of sand and rock, and stretches of dusty sage-bush and prickly greasewood. Scattered scrub-cedar and piñon varied this dismal vegetation to the north, where, with gradual ascent, the plain abutted against the sandy talus of the bold vertical sandstone cliffs of a plateau six hundred feet and more above it. Deep cañons breaking through the mesa had carved the face of the cliff into narrow, jagged promontories, whose shadows served only to intensify the sombre colours of the neutral-tinted rocks and the barren grey waste of the plain below. From the mesa-top a magnificent panorama unrolled itself: the arid plateau to the east and north; south and west the valley and cañon of the Little Colorado; and beyond to the south-west grandly loomed the San Francisco range, while the trails leading over the plain below in straight lines radiating from the foot of the bluff became visible.

At first there was nothing to suggest to a spectator the presence of human habitations; but gradually that which had appeared at first to be but an outcropping mass of sandstone poised on a lower bench of the mesa or crowning a sand-hill at its foot, so like it was in colour and in outline to the rocks about it, took on the appearance of a group of storied buildings, like those of the neighbouring province of Cibola, except that the grey walls built of material taken from the cliffs had caused it to blend into the general tint of the landscape. There were seven of these villages, whose inhabitants procured their water-supply from the rare springs at the base of their mesas, going often a considerable distance to reach them. Then as now they planted their corn deep in the soil of the plain below, where the constant heat and dryness of the air still left some little moisture, grouping the stalks at intervals five, six, and more together, that they might shelter each other from the sandblasts of early summer and the freshets of the rainy season.[1]

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[1] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 428; Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 157.

[2] Victor Mindeleff, "Pueblo Architecture," *Eighth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 18, 21, 75. The description given in the text is summarised from *ibid.*, pp. 41, 42 *et passim*, as also from Ives's "Report," p. 122, and Captain John G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, pp. 99, 121, 154 *et passim*. The Moqui mesa is six thousand feet above sea-level.

Passing through the cultivated fields at night and undiscovered, Tovar came so close upon one of the towns,[2] that he could hear the Indians conversing inside. The next day, on being seen, the Moquis approached them in arms, but quickly listened to the customary summons proclaimed through an interpreter, "for they are a very reasonable people," says Castañeda. For all that, the Moquis had drawn lines on the ground across which they had forbidden the Spaniards to pass, and when a horseman made the attempt, an Indian struck his bridle with his club. Fray Juan, whose Franciscan frock had not wholly smothered the instincts of the soldier, and with a contempt for the summons, bred perhaps from his familiarity with its empty pretensions, became impatient at the delay, and exclaimed: "Really, I do not know why we came here!" The captain, to whom the remark was addressed, took the hint, and charged the unoffending Moquis so unexpectedly that he killed a large number. The remainder fled, but shortly returned as suppliants for peace and loaded with gifts. The other villages also submitted, and were visited by the Spaniards to trade. The recollection of this first visit of the white man, the "*kast' ilumah* who wore iron garments and came from the south," still lives among the Moquis, although no special tradition has been preserved.[1]

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 451; Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 151; Mindeleff, "Pueblo Architecture," p. 43; Bourke, *Snake Dance*, pp. 96 *et seq.;* Mindeleff (*ibid.*, p. 66) gives a view of Walpi; Ives ("Report," etc., p. 119) gives an engraving of the villages seen from below.

[2] Awatobi is supposed by Dr. J. W. Fewkes to have been the first village of Tusayan visited by Tovar, and that where the fight occurred. "Expedition to Arizona in 1895," *Seventeenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, Pt. II., p. 597. Dr. Fewkes gives a sketch map of the mesa country occupied by the Hopi (or Moqui) Indians in *ibid.*, opposite p. 583.

On his return, Tovar related to Coronado what he had seen and done, and the rumours he had gathered of the Great Colorado and of a tall race of Indians, presumably the Mojaves, seen by Diaz, who dwelt along its bank. Without further delay, Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas with twelve companions was sent back to discover the river. Well received by the Moquis, who supplied him with guides, Cardenas started out from their villages with provisions for twenty days, as there was a desert of that width to cross before entering upon an inhabited country.

> "After they had gone twenty days' march they came to the banks of a river, which are so high that from the edge of one bank to the other appeared to be three or four leagues in the air.[2] The country was elevated and full of low twisted pines,

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[1] Mindeleff, *ibid.*, p. 21.

[2] "Llegaron a las barrancas del rio que puestos a el bado de ellas pareçia al otro bordo que auia mas de tres o quatro leguas por el ayre."—Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 429. This text does not admit of the translations given by Ternaux-Compans and Winship. Dr. Elliott Coues (*On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, vol. ii., p. 349) also gives a translation of this passage. "Bado,"—a ford,—of which the Spaniards knew nothing, none of them having reached the bottom of the cañon, is probably a copyist's mistake for

very cold, and lying open toward the north, so that, this being the warm season, no one could live there on account of the cold.

"They spent three days on this bank looking for a passage down to the river, which looked from above as if the water were six feet across, although the Indians said it was half a league wide. It was impossible to descend, for after these three days Captain Melgosa and one Juan Galeras and another companion, who were the three lightest and most agile men, made an attempt to go down at the least difficult place, and went down until those who were above were unable to keep sight of them. They returned about four o'clock in the afternoon, not having succeeded in reaching the bottom on account of the great difficulties which they found, because what seemed to be easy from above was not so, but instead very hard and difficult. They said they had been down about a third of the way and that the river seemed very large from the place which they reached, and from what they saw, they thought the Indians had given the width correctly. Those who stayed above had estimated that some huge rocks on the sides of the cliffs seemed to be about as tall as a man, but those who went down swore that when they reached these rocks they were bigger than the great tower of Seville." [1]

Such was the impression made upon the Spaniards by one of the greatest wonders of the continent, the Grand Cañon of the Rio Colorado. As the exploring party

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"bordo," by the substitution of which for "bado" neither the sense nor the grammar is strained.

[1] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 429; Winship's translation, p. 489. "Relacion del suceso" (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 150) says the party struck the river where it came from the north-east and turned to the south-south-east. If the desert crossed was the Painted Desert, this would indicate that they came upon the river above its confluence with the Little Colorado, and they may have mistaken the latter for the lower course of the stream, which seems an absurd and impossible mistake, except that the direction of the current could not be determined. This is the route given by Bancroft (*Hist. Arizona and New Mex.*) in the map on p. 43. General Simpson in his map takes the party over to the Colorado River, where it flows north and south between Arizona and Nevada.

had much trouble in finding water, it soon returned to the camp at Hawaikuh.

Meanwhile there had come to Coronado a deputation of Indians from the province of Cicuye, a group of Jemez who lived east of the Rio Grande where now stand the ruins of the great Pecos pueblo, not far distant from Santa Fé.[1] They were accompanied by one of their chiefs, a fine-looking young man whom the Spaniards named Bigotes, because of his long moustache, and came to offer Coronado their friendship and alliance, giving him at the same time some buffalo robes, bucklers and helmets of tanned buffalo hide,[2] and information of the bison, of which one of these Pecos Indians bore a picture painted upon his body. The general directed Alvarado to accompany the Indians to their village and return in eighty days.

At the end of August[3] (1540) Alvarado set out with twenty men and Fray Juan de Padilla, who by that time was back from the Moqui villages. Following the trail which led in almost a direct line from Hawaikuh easterly to Acoma, they passed a number of ruined and abandoned pueblos, among them the "Marata" of Fray Marcos, and, keeping to the lower of the two trails, where, southeast of the Zuñi basin, a path diverged in a northerly direction to Chia on the Jemez River,[4] came in five days' journey upon the famous fastness of Acoma,[1] perched upon its inaccessible rock, a very Gibraltar of the plain. The Spaniards described it as a rock, conical on all sides, and so high that a ball from an arquebuse could hardly reach its summit. The village was approached by a stairway cut in the face of the cliff, wide enough for the first two hundred steps, then much narrower for a hundred more, and ending in shallow toe-holes in the face of the rock extending three times the height of a man, where the assistance of both hands became necessary to scale it. At the top lay a great pile of big stones, which the defenders, without exposing themselves, could roll down upon an enemy attempting to climb up, "so that no army, however strong it might be, could have forced that passage," says Castañeda. On the mesa top was land enough to grow and to store a large quantity of corn, and there were cisterns for water and snow. The villagers, who were Queres Indians, had the reputation of being robbers greatly feared in the province, and were able to put on foot two hundred warriors.

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[1] Hodge (in Brower's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 59): "Pecos is the only New Mexican pueblo . . . that answers these descriptions of Cicuye." Cicuye is Tshi-quit-é or Tzi-quit-é of the Pecos (Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 127, and see p. 138); Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 51, and see note 3; Simpson, *Coronado's March*, p. 29.

[2] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 430; Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 154, note 1.

[3] "Relacion de lo que Hernando de Alvarado y Fray Joan de Padilla descubrieron en demanda de la mar del Sur," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 65, and in *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 510.

[4] Alvarado, *ibid.*, p. 69. It was one of two clusters of Queres Indians on that river; perhaps the present pueblo de la Silla on the sandy expanse northwest of the Santa Ana. It was called Tzi-a. Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt.

I., p. 126 and note; Pt. II., pp. 193–195; Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 58, note 10.

[1] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 430, and "Relacion del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 150, call it "Acuco;" Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 157, "Tutahaco" (?); Alvarado, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 65, "Coco;" "Coronado." *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 560, "Acucu." Simpson (*Coronado's March*, p. 27), Bancroft (*Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 51, note 3), Bandelier (*Contributions*, pp. 169, 178; *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 132, and Pt. II., pp. 312, 325), Hodge (in Brower's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., pp. 48 *et seq.*), Davis (*Conquest*, p. 177, note 3), Prince (*New Mexico*, p. 127), Haynes (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 487, note 1), and Winship (*Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 575) all identify this locality with Acoma. Its site and traditional origin are given by Mr. Bandelier in *Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 312, and the description of the trail between Zuñi Hot Springs and Acoma, *ibid.*, pp. 325 *et seq.* F. W. Hodge says the true Zuñi name is Hákukia (*Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 490, note 2). He adds (*ibid.*, p. 575, note 1), "The Acoma people call their pueblo Ako, while the name for themselves is Akóme—people of the white rock." As to the "Acus" of Fray Marcos de Niza, see p. 268, this volume.

Fortunately for the Spaniards, these Queres, in place of remaining in their stronghold, came down armed into the plain to receive them, and, like the Moquis, drew a line upon the ground which they forbade the strangers to cross; but when they saw the party prepare to attack them, they readily submitted and made the native sign for inviolable friendship by crossing both hands.[1]

Three days' march from Acoma, Alvarado reached the province of Tiguex. Its twelve villages, built entirely of adobe, stretched from the present site of Bernalillo southward to Isleta on both sides of the Rio Grande, hemmed in to the east by the almost perpendicular cliffs of the lofty, snow-clad Sandia Mountains, and to the west by the ranges and lateral valleys on the eastern margin of the Great Divide.[2] Four of the towns were built at the foot of the mountains and three others upon the heights. The southern Tiguas, seeing Bigotes in the party, received it peacefully, and Alvarado sent back a message to Coronado, advising him to establish his winter quarters there. Following up the river for some distance and turning north-east,[3] a march of five days brought the party to Cicuye, the home of Bigotes, the Pecos guide, in the narrow and beautiful valley formed by the pine-clad south-western spurs of the Santa Fé Mountains, to whose snow-capped heights, for

[1] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 431.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 454; Jaramillo (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 157) says fifteen villages. This is the location given by Bandelier in *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 129 and note, p. 130 and note, and Pt. II., pp. 219 *et seq.*, and accepted by Hodge, in Brower's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 53. They were southern Tiguas, says Bandelier (*Contributions*, pp. 18–20). Simpson (*ibid.*, p. 28) places Tiguex below the mouth of the Puerco, and Bancroft (*Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 51, note 3) places it in the valley of the Rio Grande. For a description of the valley, see Castañeda, *ibid.*, and Simpson's Report in "Reconnaissance of New Mexico and Texas," *Senate Ex. Doc.* No. 64, pp. 134–135, Thirty-first Cong. The Sandia Mountains have an altitude of 10,609 feet (*Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 222).

[3] Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 157–158.

they reach an altitude of twelve thousand five hundred feet above the sea,[1] the Spaniards gave the name of Sierra Nevada. Down the valley flow the head waters of the Pecos River.

It was one of the largest of all the pueblos which they had visited, built upon a rock, in the shape of a great square of four-storied houses forming eight inner courts within which were the estufas for the men. The houses faced both out and in, and the entire circuit of the town could be made on the housetops, which were of the same height, or by a corridor which hung like a balcony from the first and second stories extending entirely around the village. These corridors, upon which, as on a street, opened all of the entrances of the houses, were reached by ladders kept inside the village; for, as in all Pueblo towns, the dwellings could not be entered from the ground floor. It was surrounded by a stone wall and was a place of great strength. It could muster some five hundred warriors, and was, perhaps, the only town at that time inhabited by the Pecos,[2] who proudly boasted that they had never been subdued and had conquered all whom they attacked. Neither they nor their neighbours were without the arts of peace. Besides mantles of cotton, Jaramillo[3] mentions cloaks of a satin-like material woven from thread with which feathers were mixed. Their maidens went naked; but, alas for the frailty of humanity! it was in order that any laxity in their conduct might be the sooner discovered; neither had they any cause for shame, since thus were they born,[4] said the Pecos Indians.

The townspeople received Alvarado and his companions with much rejoicing and escorted them to their village to the sound of a drum and flutes, the latter resembling fifes, says Castañeda.[1] Here Alvarado found an Indian slave, who had come from a village called Harale in a region to the east,[2] and who gave him an account of the bison, and a glowing description of the wealth of his own country. The Spaniards named him El Turco because of his resemblance to the people of that race.

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 454; Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 127; Pt. II., pp. 88, 120, 125.

[2] Castañeda, *ibid.*, pp. 453-454; "Relacion del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 150; Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 126, note 1.

[3] "Relacion," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 157-158.

[4] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 453.

Leaving the Pecos pueblo, Alvarado proceeded farther east under the guidance of El Turco, and striking the Gallinas followed it down below its junction with the Pecos, a distance of one hundred leagues. Four days out on the plains bison were seen, each day in greater numbers. Anxious to relate the further results of his expedition and the remarkable tale of El Turco, Alvarado pushed his discoveries no farther, but returned to Tiguex, where he found Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, sent by Coronado to prepare winter quarters for the army. It must have been late in the fall, and Alvarado, having decided to await there the arrival of the general, compelled the natives to abandon their village and quarter themselves on their friends in order to make room for the members of his party.[3]

Meanwhile Arellano, who had left Sonora in the latter part of October, had reached Cibola, or rather Hawaikuh, where Coronado was encamped, without any misadventure beyond a severe storm followed by heavy snow, in which his unhappy Indian allies, natives of a warm climate, had suffered greatly from the cold. On his arrival, Coronado gave orders that after a rest of twenty days Arellano should proceed directly to Tiguex. He, himself, with a party of thirty men, set out to visit another province of eight villages of which he had heard.[1] Pursuing a more southerly trail than that followed by Alvarado,[2] he reached the Rio Grande at what was perhaps a group of Tigua villages in the neighbourhood of Isleta[3] and ascended the river to Tiguex where he found Cardenas, Alvarado, and El Turco expecting him in the village which had been selected for winter quarters.

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[1] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 431.

[2] Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 151; Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 431. Mr. Hodge ("Coronado's March," Brower, *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 68) considers this Harale a form of Harahey, and holds the latter to be a corrupted Spanish form of the Wichita-Quivira name for the Pawnees. Mr. Bandelier (*Am. Catholic Quart. Rev.*, vol. xv., p. 555, cited by Winship, *Fourteenth Ann. Rep. Bur. Eth.*, p. 394) thinks his] name, "El Turco," was due to a characteristic Pawnee manner of wearing his hair.

[3] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 431; "Relacion del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 151.

At last El Turco had the ear of the commander of these troublesome and credulous strangers, whose lust for the yellow metal suggested an alluring bait by which they might be beguiled away from their unwilling hosts on to the trackless plains beyond the mountains, where they could be left to perish; and he gave a free rein to his imagination.

> "In his country," he said, "there was a river[4] in the level country which was two leagues wide, in which there were fishes as big as horses, and large numbers of very big canoes with more than twenty rowers on a side, and that they carried sails; and that their lords sat on the poop under awnings, and on the prow they had a great golden eagle. He said also that

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[1] Castañeda, *ibid.*, pp. 427, 432.

[2] Towards the Rito Quemado. Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 326, note 1.

[3] Castañeda, *ibid.*, pp. 432, 433; Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. II., pp. 234, 235, note 1) gives this location to Tutahaco. He says Castañeda may have mistaken the name, which sounds suspiciously like the Tigua name for the pueblo of Acoma. He thinks Jaramillo (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 157, "Tutahaco") identifies it with Acoma. Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 55, note 5, indicates the "region of Isleta."

[4] Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 27) thinks it was, perhaps, the Mississippi or the Missouri heard of here, at Pecos. Davis (*The Spanish Conquest*, p. 182, note 7) says it was "probably the Rio del Norte, and fish of an enormous size are still caught in it." (But how about the other statements of El Turco, the boats, etc.?)

> the lord of that country took his afternoon nap under a great tree on which were hung a great number of little gold bells, which put him to sleep as they swung in the air. He said also that everyone had their ordinary dishes made of wrought plate, and the jugs, plates, and bowls were of gold."[1]

He even gave the native name for gold *acochis*, and easily distinguished both gold and silver from other metals. When he was captured, the Pecos, he said, had taken from him some golden bracelets, so Alvarado was sent to Cicuye to get them, and being truthfully informed that El Turco was a liar, he decoyed the chief, Bigotes, and the cacique, who was an old man, into his tent, put them in chains, and took them to Tiguex, where they were kept prisoners for six months. On his departure from their town the Pecos, not unreasonably, it would seem, accused Alvarado of faithlessness and want of friendship, enforcing their opinion with a volley of arrows. The Indians were beginning to learn that the Spanish protests of peace were not always deserving of credit.[2]

Later exactions and outrages served to awaken the discontent of the Tiguas. Not satisfied with having quartered himself upon them and consuming their winter stores, Coronado demanded three hundred pieces of cotton for his troops, and, without even allowing the Indians the time needful to make the requisition among their villages, sent out collectors in company with soldiers, who stripped the people of the clothes they were wearing.[3] An officer insulted the wife of one of the Indians, who complained to the general, and although he identified the horse ridden by the Spaniard, the Indian failed to receive justice. The next morning an Indian ally brought the news that the natives had risen in revolt, and Cardenas, sent to parley with them, found the villages barricaded and the Tiguas on the defensive within their pueblos. Cardenas was dispatched with the greater part of the army to lay siege to the village where the last outrage had been perpetrated. By means of a surprise the Spaniards took possession of the housetops, where the battle raged all that day, all night, and part of the following morning, so valiantly did the Indians defend their homes, shooting through the embrasures of the houses upon their assailants and wounding a large number. At last the harassed Tiguas, exhausted by their long and gallant defence and smoked out of the houses by the Mexican allies, who, protected by the Spanish cavalry, had undermined the village walls where they had built their smudges, called for quarter, to which two of Cardenas's officers responded by crossing their arms.

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[1] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 432; Winship's trans. p. 493.

[2] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur Eth.*, p. 432.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 434.

On seeing this, the Indian signal and pledge of inviolable friendship, the besieged threw down their weapons and surrendered. They were led into the tent of Cardenas, who, says Castañeda, ignorant of the terms of their surrender, wishing to make an example of them and in obedience to the orders of Coronado that none should be spared, directed that two hundred stakes should be made ready to burn the Indians alive. While this inhuman order was being put into execution, neither of the two officers uttered a protest, not feeling themselves bound by their pledge; but a number of the prisoners who had entered the tent, seeing the dismal preparations, the significance of which they were not slow to realise, seized whatever they could lay hands on and began to fight for their lives. They had but chosen between two modes of death, for the swordsmen within the tent and the horsemen without soon made an end of all but a few of their number, who, having hidden in the village, escaped during the night. Coronado could scarcely punish for treachery, which he had perhaps commanded, a man to whom he owed his own life; but on his return to Spain not long after, in order to secure an inheritance, Cardenas was visited with imprisonment for his act of cruelty and perfidy.[1] Its immediate consequences were serious enough, for the few who escaped the butchery proclaimed throughout the country that it was the Spanish custom to violate the treaties to which they had pledged their faith.[2]

About the close of December, 1540, and immediately after the occurrence just related, as Cardenas returned to winter quarters, Arellano arrived from the province of Cibola. Setting out early in the month, the army had marched through violent snow-storms, visiting the rock of Acoma on the way, to the top of which the more adventurous had climbed with great difficulty, while they beheld with wondering eyes the agile natives, loaded with provisions or water, go up and down with the greatest ease, scarcely touching their hands to the rock. As the soldiers passed through the pine-clad Zuñi range, great fires were lighted to warm them. The snow fell every night, completely enveloping the baggage and the sleeping soldiers to a depth of three feet, so that, says Castañeda, "had one come unexpectedly upon the camp, he would have seen but heaps of snow and the horses." But it was dry and light, serving rather as a protection from the cold than otherwise, and easily shaken off on arising without leaving a trace of moisture.[3]

The entire company being at last in winter quarters in one of the Tigua villages, which can no longer be identified,[4] the snows set in with such violence that, in spite of the revolted Tiguas, nothing could be done for two months. Then messengers were sent on every side to persuade the Indians to make peace; but pointing to the fate of those of their people who had surrendered, they replied that they could not put their trust in men who did not keep their word. Thus the winter was spent in fruitless efforts to restore quietude, almost all of the Indians having taken refuge in two of their pueblos.

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[1] Mota Padilla, cap. xxxii., sec. 6, p. 161, and Escudero, *Noticias Estadisticas de Sonora y Sinaloa*, pp. 27–29; both cited in Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 57. And see Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 223.

[2] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 435.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 433, 435.

[4] Mota Padilla (cap. xxxii., sec. 5, p. 160) says Coofer; Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 223 and note) cannot locate it.

Finally, Coronado decided to lay siege to the village of Tiguex—which one of the twelve is not now known. The troops were drawn up around it and for fifty days the siege continued, as the culverins were too light to be of service and there was not an engineer in the army capable of constructing a machine to frighten the natives.[1] Several assaults with scaling-ladders made by the Spaniards were successfully repulsed with losses on both sides, although the Indians suffered the most. The hardships entailed by failure of water within the village gave rise to one of those picturesque incidents which deserves to be related in full.

"One day, before the capture was completed," says Castañeda,[2] "they asked to speak to us, and said that since they knew we would not harm women and children, they wished to surrender their women and sons because they were using up the water." The Spaniards consented, thinking it an opportunity to offer peace, and so

> "Don Lope de Urrea rode up in front of the town without his helmet and received the boys and girls in his arms, and when all these had been surrendered, Don Lope begged them to make peace, giving them the strongest promises for their safety. They told him to go away, as they did not wish to trust themselves to people who had no regard for friendship or their own word which they had pledged. As he seemed

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[1] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 469.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 436; Winship's translation, p. 499.

unwilling to go away, one of them put an arrow in his bow ready to shoot, and threatened to shoot him with it unless he went off, and they warned him to put on his helmet, but he was unwilling to do so, saying that they would not hurt him as long as he stayed there. When the Indian saw that he did not want to go away, he shot and planted his arrow between the fore feet of the horse, and then put another arrow in his bow and repeated that if he did not go away he would really shoot him. Don Lope put on his helmet and slowly rode back to where the horsemen were, without receiving any harm from them. When they saw that he was really in safety, they began to shoot arrows in showers with loud yells and cries."

Early in the following year, 1541, and but fifteen days after the event just related, the Indians abandoned the village at night, but on being discovered were attacked, the greater number of them killed, and the remainder reduced to slavery. At the same time Coronado received the news of the return of Diaz's last expedition and of his death.[1]

During the siege Coronado had visited Cicuye, where he had reinstated the cacique, to the great delight of the people, and had promised them that on his departure for Quivira—the El Dorado of which El Turco had drawn so enticing a picture—he would also restore their chief, Bigotes.[2] At the conclusion of the siege a captain was sent to the Queres settlement of Chia, which had given in its submission, and others to the province of Quirix, seven Queres[3] villages on the Rio Grande at San Filipe, and peace was restored throughout the region until the departure of the army for Quivira, although the Tiguas persistently refused to return to their villages.[1]

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[1] Castañeda, *ibid.*, pp. 437-438; Mota Padilla, cap. xxxii., sec. 8, p. 161 (cited in Winship, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 500).

[2] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 439.

[3] Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 125, 126; *ibid.*, Pt. II., p. 118), Hodge (in Brower's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 55), Bancroft (*Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 58 and note 11), and Simpson (*Coronado's March*, p. 28 and note, and p. 33) all agree that they were Queres.

Notwithstanding the glittering promises of El Turco, there were some who began to doubt him, and for good reason.

> "A Spaniard named Cervantes, who had charge of him during the siege, solemnly swore that he had seen the Turk talking with the devil in a pitcher of water, and also that while he had him under lock so that no one could speak to him, the Turk had asked him what Christians had been killed by the people at Tiguex. He told him 'nobody,' and then the Turk answered: 'You lie; five Christians are dead including a captain.' And as Cervantes knew that he told the truth, he confessed it so as to find out who had told him about it, and the Turk said he knew it all by himself, and that he did not need to have anyone tell him in order to know it. And it was on account of this that he watched him and saw him speaking to the devil in the pitcher."

But, devil or no devil, Coronado, urged on by the clergy, was determined on the expedition, notwithstanding the protests of the less sanguine of his officers, who advised a reconnoissance in that direction before moving the army.[2] Just before his departure he sent Don Pedro de Tovar to Sonora with a report for the emperor, and directions to bring up the rest of the expedition.

On the 23rd of April, 1541,[3] as soon as the ice on the Rio Grande had broken up, Coronado began his march. At Cicuye he released Bigotes as he had promised, and, against the advice of El Turco, who said it was useless to fatigue the horses with loads of supplies, so that they could not bring back the gold and silver,[1] he procured provisions, which the Pecos were glad enough to furnish him. Taking for his guide a young man named Xabe, a native of Quivira given him by the cacique, another Quivira Indian named Ysopete, and El Turco, he set out in a south-easterly direction.[2] Four days later he reached the Pecos, which he was compelled to bridge, perhaps in the vicinity of Puerto de Luna.[3]

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 439.

[2] Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 159; "Relacion del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 152.

[3] Coronado, "Troisième lettre à l'Empereur Charles V.," *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 356 (and in *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 363); Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 440, says May 5th.

At last the entire army and its commander were launched upon the great plains, "without sight of the mountain range, nor a hill, nor a hillock which was three times as high as a man," and all so flat that, on seeing a herd of bison in the distance, the sky was visible between their legs.[4] Around the rare lagoon grew high grasses, which elsewhere were exceedingly short. Trees were found only on the little watercourses at the bottom of the ravines; and the latter were discovered only on reaching their very edge, which was broken away by the trails made by the bison going to water, so that "one sees absolutely nothing about one but the sky and the plain."

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 446.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 440.

[3] Castañeda (*ibid.*, p. 440) says: "Un rio . . . que baxaba de hacia cicuye" ("a river . . . . which flowed down from toward Cicuye"),—meaning from the direction of Cicuye; Jaramillo (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 158) says, "para venir hasta este rio por donde lo pasamos, fuimos algo mas que al nordeste;" see also "Relacion del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 151. Simpson (*Coronado's March*, p. 30) and Bancroft (*Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 59 and note 13) agree upon the Gallinas, as does also Haynes (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. [illegible], p. 492, note 1). Davis (*Conquest*, p. 204, note 3) and Prince (*New Mexico*, p. 135) agree upon the Rio Grande. Winship (*Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 504, note 1) says "the Rio Pecos," and that the bridge was built "across the upper waters of the Canadian." I think Mr. Hodge (in Brower's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., pp. 59 *et seq.*) presents a strong argument in favour of the Pecos, which he thinks was bridged in the vicinity of Puerto de Luna, the army having followed a *south-easterly* course.

[4] Castañeda, *ibid.*, pp. 455, 467.

"Who could believe," says Castañeda,[1] "that a thousand horses, and five hundred of our cows, and more than five thousand rams and ewes, and more than fifteen hundred friendly Indians and servants, in travelling over these plains, would leave no more trace where they had passed than if nothing had been there — nothing — so that it was necessary to make piles of bones and cow-dung now and then, so that the rear-guard could follow the army. The grass never failed to become erect after it had been trodden down, and, although it was short, it was as fresh and straight as before."

The Spaniards had pursued a south-easterly course until the crossing of the Pecos, and then had turned a little more to the east. In the course of a few days they encountered a roving party of Apaches of the plain, or Tonkawa, called by them Querechos, who fearlessly came out of their lodges of tanned bison-hide to gaze upon the strangers, and conversed with them so intelligently by signs that there was no need of an interpreter, says Castañeda. The Querechos informed them that on turning farther to the east there was a very great river that could be followed for eighty days without leaving the inhabited country. Next morning the Querechos struck their tents, stowed the tent-poles and all of their possessions on little pack-saddles strapped to the backs of their dogs, and departed. "They are braver people than the villagers," says Castañeda; "they are larger and more warlike," said Coronado. They lived and moved and had their being with the bison, whose human parasites they were. With their wooden-handled stone knives they would rapidly cut him in pieces, and drink the liquid pressed from the half-digested grasses found in his stomach. They preserved his blood in a flexible bottle contrived from the long intestine, and dried and powdered the flesh. Shelter and garments were furnished by his hide, spoons and other implements by his horns.[1] It is probable that, following the suggestion of the Querechos, the army took a more easterly course,[2] and in a few days came upon another band, who had pitched their tents on the plain.

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 466.

While on the march incredible numbers of bison were seen, at the first sight of which the horses were put to flight, "for in May when they shed their coats they truly resemble lions," says Castañeda. The vanguard hunted them with lance and arquebuse, which were found to be the arms best suited to the chase, and one day put a herd to flight. The terrified bison ran to a ravine into which they fell in such numbers as to almost fill it up, and the remainder of the herd crossed over on the bodies of their companions. Elsewhere, on the bank of a salt lagoon, which the army passed on its return, and where the bison came to drink, was seen a space about a cross-bow-shot in length and eighteen feet in width, piled to almost twice the height of a man with bison bones said to have been tossed there by the action of the waves under a north wind. Diego Lopez, sent out to reconnoitre, was lost for two days, at the end of which he returned with the discouraging news that in a distance of twenty leagues he had seen nothing but bison and sky.[3]

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[1] Castañeda, pp. 440, 456; Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 158; "Relacion del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 153; "Troisième lettre à l'Empereur Charles V.," *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 356 (and in *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 363); "Relacion Postrera de Sivola," *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 567 *et seq.* Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 178, and Pt. II., p. 119, says the term "Apache" first appears in 1598. Hodge ("The Early Navajo and Apache," *Am. Anthrop.*, p. 235, July, 1895) states that Mr. James Mooney has discovered that "Querecho" is an old Comanche name of the Tonkawa, who ranged the buffalo plains of western Texas and eastern New Mexico.

[2] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 440.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 440–441, 466–467; "Relacion del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 151. Some conception of the immense multitudes of the bison

Another party came across a wandering tribe, one of whose members, an old, blind Indian, signified by signs that, long before, when in the neighbourhood of New Spain, he had met with four Spaniards, supposed by Jaramillo[1] to have been Cabeça de Vaca and his companions. One day a violent hail-storm passed over the camp. Not only did it break all the camp service and destroy the tents, but it also stampeded the horses, which were recovered with great difficulty.[2] Other plains Indians were encountered, who called themselves Teyas, the Texas of a later period, an intelligent, well-clad people, tattooed, and living like the Querechos, with whom, however, they were at enmity. Another day an Indian was seen to shoot his arrow right through a bison, "a thing which could scarcely be done with a crossbow," observes Castañeda.[3]

It was now about the first week in June, and it was estimated that in thirty-seven days the army had marched some two hundred and fifty leagues (six hundred and fifty miles) since leaving Tiguex. The variance between

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which lived upon the plains is conveyed by the following note of a review of W. A. Baillie-Grohman's (Horace Cox) "Fifteen Years' Sport and Life in the Hunting Grounds of Western America and British Columbia" in *The Athenæum*, p. 583, May 12, 1900, in which Colonel Inman is quoted as stating that between 1863 and 1881 in Kansas alone $2,500,000 were paid for these buffalo bones collected by the side of the railway for conveyance to the manufacturers of fertilizers, representing, at eight dollars a ton, the skeletons of 31,000,000 bison.

[1] "Relacion," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 159; Castañeda (*ibid.*, p. 441) gives a different and seemingly less accurate account.

[2] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 442.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 442. Coronado, in his letter to Charles V. (*Voyage de Cibola*, p. 357, and in *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 363), says these Teyas were "laborados." The writer of the "Relacion del suceso" (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 153) says "pintados." For their identification with the Tejas or Texas, see Hodge, in Brower's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 64. In *ibid.*, p. 66, he fixes approximately the Rio Colorado between longitude 99° and 100° as the region of the Teyas, in which he is followed by W. E. Richey, *Kansas State Historical Society*, vol. vi., reprint, *The Real Quivira*, p. 4.

the information given by the plains Indians and that given by El Turco confirmed the suspicions excited against him by his Indian companion Ysopete.[1] Water was scarce, provisions began to fail, and so Coronado at length called a council of war. It was determined that the force under Arellano should return to Tiguex, but the general with thirty horsemen and six foot-soldiers should push forward to Quivira. When the decision became known, the soldiers, feeling that sense of desolation[2] which, like the trackless waste of ocean, the plains with their limitless expanse are said to produce, besought him not to abandon them and declared their willingness to die with him. But Coronado, with the obstinacy of a man possessed by one idea, and willing to incur any risk to attain his end, irrespective of the predicament in which his loss would place his companions, was not to be moved from his purpose.

Leaving Arellano and his company to return as best they might, Coronado, guided by some Teyas Indians, pushed forward in a northerly direction,[3] taking with him El Turco in chains, and Ysopete. The guides soon deserted him, but he procured others from the same tribe.[4] For six weeks[5] the little band marched forward, living entirely off the bison, and using its dried dung for fuel. At the end of thirty days, Coronado came upon a river, to which was given the name of "S. Pedro i S. Pablo." It is quite probable that it was the Arkansas,[6] and that it was crossed near its southern bend, east of Dodge City. They followed its northern bank for three days in a north-easterly direction,[1] and three days farther on reached Quivira, which Coronado wrote the emperor was in 40° of latitude. It lay perhaps in what is now the State of Kansas to the north-east of the Great Bend of the Arkansas and between it and the Kansas River.[2] Coronado, who, curiously enough, had gained the impression from the Indians that Quivira was a colony of a part of the army of Narvaez, which had been wrecked,[3] sent forward a letter to the governor; but a bitter disappointment awaited him. It was indeed a pleasing country of hills and dales and fertile meadows watered by little brooks which fell into the river up which they had travelled, but the many-storied stone houses had dwindled into mere clusters of round typees or wickeeups of tree branches covered with reeds or grass. The nomadic tribe, whose name Coronado probably identified with the region in which they roamed, were "a very brutish people," who hunted and shifted their home with the bison, went about almost as naked as they were born, and were armed with bows and arrows.[4]

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth. Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 442; Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 159.

[2] "Troisième lettre à l'Empereur Charles V.," *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 374 (and in *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 363).

[3] Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 159.

[4] Castañeda, *ibid.*, 443.

[5] "Troisième lettre à l'Empereur Charles V.," *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 358 (and in *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 363), where Coronado says forty-two days; Castañeda (*ibid.*, p. 443) says forty-eight days.

[6] The writer of "Relacion del suceso" (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 153) says the river was in 36°. See the strong evidence in favour of this view in Mr.

Coronado saw only a small quantity of a substance resembling gold and which he suspected had been obtained from the Indians in his own party. All the

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Hodge's "Coronado's March," in Brower's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p.67, an identification accepted by W. E. Richey, *The Real Quivira*, p. 4, reprint from *Kansas State Hist. Soc.*, vol. vi.

[1] Jaramillo (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 159–160) says the river ran north-east.

[2] See Appendix R, "Quivira," in this volume.

[3] Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 160; Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 6, lib. ix., cap. xi., p. 206. See the description of the king of Quivira in Gomara, liv. vi., chap. xviii., p. 468 (Fumée's trans.). It is supposed by some that these were really rumours of De Soto's presence to the east of him, which had reached Coronado.

[4] "Troisième lettre à l'Empereur Charles V.," *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 354; (and in *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 363). "Una gente mui bestial," in "Relacion del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 132.

metal which he found consisted of a copper plate worn by one of the chiefs suspended from his neck and some bells of the same; these he sent as trophies to the viceroy.[1] Thus did the alluring vision which the lying guides and his own credulous imagination had conjured up, dissolve, "like the baseless fabric of a dream," and the general realised that he had been tricked and misled by the Indians in the hope that in his wandering over the waterless plains thirst and hunger would cause the Spaniards and their horses to fall an easy prey to the attacks of the natives. Coronado enjoyed the empty honour of taking possession of the region, "the natives submitting to their royal Master," he writes the emperor.[2] He erected a cross with the inscription: "Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, general of an expedition, reached this place," and had the genuine satisfaction of strangling El Turco, who, poor fellow, faithful to the charge given him by his Pueblo masters, had instigated a night attack on the Spaniards.[3]

For over three weeks Coronado remained in the country of Quivira seeking for information of still more distant provinces, where "Our Lord God might be worshipped and the hereditary estates of His Majesty extended, as a faithful servant and subject should do."[4] It was already the middle of August,[5] and the little band, few in number, unprepared for passing the winter which was now approaching, and fearful of the fate of the main army, determined to return and rejoin it. Leaving Ysopete in the village where the cross had been set up, and obtaining guides to lead them back, the Spaniards regained the river they had ascended. But instead of returning by the route by which they came, they went to the right, that is to say, to the west, and soon found the country of the Querechos, and the place where El Turco had led them out of their proper course. Not later than the end of September, and after a march of forty days, Coronado arrived at Tiguex in time to winter there, but still fixed in his purpose to pursue his explorations in the following spring with the entire army.[1]

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 444; "Troisième lettre à l'Empereur," *Voyage de Cibola*, pp. 359-360 (and in *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 363).

[2] "Troisième lettre," etc., *ibid.*, p. 361.

[3] Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 161.

[4] "Troisième lettre à l'Empereur," *ibid.*, p. 361.

[5] Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 160.

The latter, under Arellano, had got safely back by the middle of July, retracing in twenty-five days a course that had consumed thirty-seven days when outward bound.[2] Ten days had been spent at the halting-place in the ravine where a great number of bison had been killed, but some of the soldiers, who in the excitement of the chase had strayed away over the plains, had been lost, in spite of cannon-shot and trumpet-call and great bonfires lighted at night to guide them into camp. A few of these stragglers had calculated the direction and had found their way back by observing the sunrise and then waiting by the fallen game until sunset, or by exploring in every direction from the fallen bison, returning to it after each attempt.[3]

As the army returned across the plains, its Teyas guides directed the march by observing the sunrise, and then shooting an arrow forward and, on approaching it, shooting another arrow beyond the first.[4] In the region between the Canadian and Arkansas Rivers a great number of lagoons were passed on which floated cakes of salt larger than the top of a table and four to five inches thick, and many villages of prairie dogs were seen. Reaching the Pecos River at a point thirty leagues below where it had been bridged on the outward march and twenty days from its juncture with the Rio Grande, the army ascended the stream until Cicuye was reached, where the revolted villagers refused to supply Arellano with food; so he proceeded to Tiguex and began at once to collect provisions for the winter.[1]

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 446, 458; Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 161–162.

[2] Castañeda, *ibid.*, pp. 444, 445.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 443.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 444.

Francisco de Barrio Nuevo was sent up to the Jemez villages,[2] which readily submitted and furnished the requisite provisions, but the northern Tehuas abandoned their two villages, one of which, Yuqueyunque,[3] lay on the Rio Grande at the present site of Chamita, and withdrew into their four strongholds in the hills where the cavalry could not follow them. Plentiful supplies were found in the deserted dwellings and beautiful pottery with a fine glaze; jars were also found filled with what the Spaniards took to be a glittering silver ore used to glaze the earthenware. Barrio Nuevo also visited Taos, the most northerly and one of the largest of the pueblos, situated in a romantic valley girt to the north and northwest by the wide and arid plateau between it and the Rio Hondo, to the east by the towering chain of Taos, its crags and cupolas rising abruptly six thousand feet above the valley, snow-capped for most of the year, and to the south by the dark mass of pine-clad mountains. Here, well-built wooden bridges spanning the deep and swift Taos River, connected the eighteen divisions of the town which lay on either side. Here, too, the explorers found the largest of all the estufas they had seen.[4] They named it Valladolid, probably on account of some fancied resemblance to the Spanish city, and returned to Tiguex, leaving the country in peace.

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 445.

[2] Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 127 and note; *ibid.*, Pt. II., p. 206; Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 63; Simpson, *Coronado's March*, p. 33.

[3] Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 123 and note 4. In *ibid.*, Pt. II., p. 58, he describes the present appearance and location of the ruins at Chamita. Bancroft (*Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 63 and note 21) gives further confirmatory proof of Bandelier's location.

[4] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 445; it is called Uraba in Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 157 and Urabe in "Relacion del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 150. That

Another officer went eighty leagues down the Rio Grande, to a point where the river lost itself in the ground to reappear farther on. Having no orders to proceed beyond this point, he returned. On his way he passed what was probably the southern outpost of the Pueblo Indians, a settlement of the Piros, consisting of four villages in the Sorroco region,[1] who submitted to the sway of the Spaniards. On the return of this officer during the month of August, Arellano, grown anxious about his commander, set out to meet him. At Cicuye, attacked by the Pecos, he threw some cannon-shot into the town, but, learning of Coronado's approach, he awaited his arrival in that neighbourhood, when both returned together to Tiguex.[2] At this juncture Pedro de Tovar arrived with reinforcements and letters, one of which informed Cardenas of the death of his brother, to whom he was heir. Obtaining a leave of absence, he set out for Mexico on his way to Spain, taking with him some of the sick.[3]

With the enforced inaction of winter, dissensions began to arise in the camp. While Coronado vainly sought to persuade the Tiguas to return to their deserted villages, he ransacked the country for material to clothe his almost naked soldiers, who were unable to free themselves of the vermin with which they were infested. The officers chose the best of the food and clothing for themselves and their friends, appointed the latter to the posts of least discomfort and danger, and left the refuse of the supplies and

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the Braba of Castañeda is Taos, see Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 139; *ibid.*, Pt. II., pp. 30 *et seq.*; Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 64, note 22; and Simpson, *Coronado's March*, p. 33.

[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 445; Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 64; Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 130.

[2] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 446.

[3] "Relacion del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 153.

the perilous positions for the soldiers; jealousies were very naturally aroused, the soldiers murmured, and there were quarrels between Coronado and his subordinates.[1] Thus the winter was passed, when an incident occurred which put an end to Coronado's purpose of searching farther to the east and served as an excuse for him to return to Mexico.

On a certain festival at the end of the winter, when orders had already been issued to prepare for the march on Quivira, Coronado, as was his custom, went out with a companion to ride at the ring. His horse having been improperly saddled, the girth broke, and he fell under the feet of his companion's horse, receiving a dangerous wound in the head, which came very near being fatal. It was said that a mathematician of Salamanca, a friend of his, had foretold him that he would be lord and all-powerful in a distant country, but would have a fall which would cause his death. During his illness this prediction so preyed upon his mind that he became despondent and longed to die surrounded by his wife and children. He was scarcely convalescent when Cardenas, who had unexpectedly returned just after the accident, announced that he had found Suya abandoned and its inhabitants massacred by the Indians, news he had not dared to tell the general during his illness.[2] Nor was he spared the knowledge of the discontent among his soldiers, which was conveyed to him by the attending surgeon.

According to Castañeda, Coronado, anxious to abandon the country he had so courageously subdued, resorted to a most unworthy artifice, which a more generous spirit than that of his historian would have attributed to the after-effects of the wound he had received.[3] Feigning to be worse than he really was, the general, heretofore of such unbending purpose and courage, summoned those of his officers who were of his own way of thinking and prevailed upon them to urge the soldiers to petition for a return to Mexico. This was an easy matter to bring about, and though some of the more daring, bent on remaining, withdrew their signatures and requested to be left behind to hold the conquered country, and even made an unsuccessful attempt to steal the petition from the very tent of the general, who slept with it under his head, Coronado was not to be moved.[1]

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 458.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 459.

[3] Gomara, liv. vi., chap. 18, p. 469, Fumée's trans., says Coronado lost his reason from the accident.

With the beginning of April, 1542,[2] the army set out on the homeward march, having first released those of the natives they had held as slaves. There were left behind that devoted and impetuous Franciscan monk, Fray Juan de Padilla, who had accompanied the Moqui expedition, and who had gone with Alvarado to the Pecos and Taos, and who now with a lay brother, named Luis Descalona, wished to remain among the natives to convert them. A Portuguese named Campo, three negro slaves, one of whom after his emancipation had become a Franciscan novice, a mestizo, and two Mexican Indians also stayed behind; two soldiers had been left at Quivira.[3]

The army marched first to Hawaikuh, where it rested for a while, having lost a large number of horses on the way. At Chichilticale it met Juan Gallegos with reinforcements from Mexico, whose discontent at the empty-handed retreat of Coronado became another source of disturbance. Pursuing its march without a pause, harassed by the revolted Indians of the country through which it moved, and beginning to suffer from want of provisions,[4] the army finally entered the valley of Culiacan. Here all discipline was set at naught; the captains refused to obey the general, and the soldiers their officers; for leagues down the valley straggled the disorganised and broken ranks of the army, nor could Coronado, still seeking to play upon its sympathy with his pretended illness, restore the least order. At last, in the month of March,[1] the disgusted commander, who had set out on his tour of conquest with so formidable and resplendent a cavalcade, presented himself before Mendoza attended by scarcely one hundred faithful followers. "He was ill received by the viceroy," concludes Castañeda,[2] "who, however, gave him his discharge; but he lost his reputation, and shortly thereafter his government of New Galicia." *Sic transit gloria mundi.* It is to be hoped that Doña Beatris was less hard-hearted than the disappointed Mendoza.

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 459 *et seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 461.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 457, 461; Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 162; Espejo's relation (*Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 95) refers to the Christian Indians left here.

[4] Castañeda, *ibid.*, pp. 462–463.

There is a certain grim humour about this last of the conquistadores, and the flaunt and flummery of his departure, the unequal contest with half-naked savages, the conquest of a kingdom of mud huts, the wild-goose chase after Quivira and its phantom treasure, and the shamefaced return, like that of an unsuccessful gambler, which is relieved only by such gallant episodes as the brave fighting at Hawaikuh, Don Lope de Urrea lifting down the children from the walls of the famished town, and the devoted lives and disinterested self-sacrifice of the soldier-monk, Fray Juan, and his companions, whose story will be told in a later chapter.

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[1] Venegas, tomo i., p. 149; Gomara, liv. vi., chap. 17.

[2] Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 464.

CHAPTER VII

THE DISCOVERY OF ALTA CALIFORNIA

IT will be remembered that when that mad knight errant and pattern of a Christian gentleman, Don Quixote de la Mancha, having returned from his first sally, was put to bed to recover of his bruises, the priest and barber obtained the keys of his library from his niece, and, aided by his housekeeper, made an *auto da fé* of the romances of chivalry which had turned the poor gentleman's head.[1] The very first to go flying out of the window was a copy of *The Deeds of the most valliant Knight Esplandian, the son of Amadis of Gaul,*[2] written by Garcia Ardonez de Montalvo in continuation of Vasco de Lobeira's famous romance. First printed in 1510,[3] it was, says Mr. Ticknor, a work of but very indifferent style and altogether lacking the eloquence found in many passages of the Amadis, although eight successive editions[4] bear witness to its thrall over the imaginations of its sixteenth-century readers. Its chief, if not its sole interest to us of the present generation lies in the fact that the first mention of the name of California occurs therein as that of a fabulous island, whose queen, Calafria, appears throughout a large part of the story as a formidable enemy of Christendom.

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[1] *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*, 1a, pte. cap. vi.

[2] *Las Sergas del muy Esforçado Cavallero Esplandian.*

[3] J. D. Whitney, in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under "California;" *History of Spanish Literature*, vol. i., p. 209. The oldest edition known to Mr. Ticknor was that of 1521.

[4] George Davidson, "Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the North-west Coast of America, 1539–1603," in the *United States Coast and Geodetic Survey*, *Report for 1886*, Appendix VII., p. 156.

By what strange process this name was transferred to the western peninsula is not known. Whether the conqueror of Mexico had himself fallen a prey to the same enchantments as the hero of La Mancha, and had wished to immortalize the pleasant recollection of a well-thumbed novel,[1] or whether it was but the whim of one of his lieutenants, must remain an unsolved problem, but when next mentioned in Bernald Diaz's *Memoirs of the Conquistador*, the name was already bestowed on the peninsula.[2] Like that of Florida upon the eastern coast, it was a name of indefinite extension, and made to embrace each new accession along the Pacific shore as the discovery slowly proceeded.[3] It was out of such an accession that was carved the present State of California, designated at a later date as Alta or Upper California; and it is to the first voyage of discovery along its mountain-buttressed coast that the present chapter is devoted.

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[1] Herrera, vol. iv., dec. 8, lib. vi., cap. xiv., p. 139, says that Cortés so named it. So disturbing was the effect produced by the reading of these romances that the Emperor Charles V. in 1543 forbade the importation into the Indies of "libros de romance que traten de materias profanas y fabulosas y historias fingidas," and no Spaniard or Indian was allowed to read them (*Recopilacion de Leyes de la Indias*, lib. i., tit. xxiv., ley iv.); and in 1555 the Cortes petitioned that the romances extant in Spain be burned (Ticknor, vol. ii., p. 165, and note 16).

[2] Davidson, "Voyages," in *ibid.*, p. 156. Many attempts have been made to trace the etymology of the name California, all of them more or less guesswork. Thus Venegas (tomo i., pte. i., sec. 1, p. 3) mentions a derivation from *calida fornax*—fiery furnace—to which he does not subscribe. Archiralb (in *Overland Monthly*, vol. ii., p. 440) derives it from the name of Cæsar's wife, Calphurnia; *Webster's Dictionary*, from the Spanish *califa*—successor, caliph, and so on. For a list of the various attempts made in this direction, see *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 443, note 1, and Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, vol. i., p. 67, note 6, where he makes a violent attack on Marcou's suggestion as to the *calida fornax* of Venegas.

[3] Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, vol. i., p. 67.

Whatever object the viceroy Mendoza may have had in mind after his understanding with Don Pedro de Alvarado, mentioned in the previous chapter, it was necessarily delayed by the great insurrection of the Indians of New Galicia in the year (1541) immediately following Coronado's departure from Culiacan, which took place directly in the path of his return. Onãte, Coronado's deputy-governor, having failed in his attempt to suppress it, Alvarado, who was then on the neighbouring coast, was summoned to assist, to which he quickly responded, but being trampled upon by a horse in an assault upon the Mixton Rock, where the revolted Indians had assembled in force, he died shortly after from the effects of his injuries, whereupon part of his fleet returned to Guatemala. In the fall of the same year Alvarado's wife was killed in a volcanic eruption which occurred in the neighbourhood of Santiago de Guatemala. Her death without heirs left the viceroy in entire possession of Alvarado's fleet.[1]

While preparing to conduct in person an army against the revolted Indians, Mendoza did not neglect the opportunity which now presented itself of further exploration up the western coast. Cortés had discovered the peninsula, and Alarcon had sailed to the head of the Mare Vermejo, or Red Sea, as the Gulf of California was then called. Ulloa had doubled the extremity of the peninsula and coasted as high as Cabo del Engaño[2] above the Cerros Islands;[3] and in the imagination of the viceroy, based upon the geographical learning of that day, by ascending still farther northward the narrowing gulf which separated California from the eastern confines of Tartary, the fabled Straits of Anian and the coveted waterway to Europe would be found.

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[1] Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 7, lib. ii., cap. xi., pp. 41 *et seq.*, and cap. xiii., p. 43; Gomara, liv. vi., chap. 14, p. 463, and chap. 15, p. 463b, Fumée's trans.; Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i., p. 96.

[2] Davidson ("Voyages," in *ibid.*, pp. 184, 185) identifies this with Point Baja.

[3] Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, vol. i., pp. 89, 133.

There was at that time in his employ a Portuguese named Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, an experienced mariner of whom little is known beyond the meagre relation left of his voyage. There are reasons for believing that he had accompanied Cortés as a soldier in his conquest of Mexico, and had subsequently attached himself to the fortunes of Pedro de Alvarado. To him it was that the viceroy entrusted the command of two small vessels, the *San Salvador* and the *Victoria*, formerly belonging to Alvarado's fleet. The *San Salvador*, which was the larger vessel and the flagship, was provided with a gun-deck, but the *Victoria* was without one and greatly exposed to the sea. Besides the chief pilot, Bartolomé Ferrelo, a native of the Levant, and to whom some have attributed the narrative of the expedition, Cabrillo carried for pilot one Bartolomé Fernandez, and for masters Antonio Carrera and S. Remo; beyond this nothing whatever is known of the crew or equipment of the little vessels.[1]

Setting out from the port of La Navidad on the 27th of June, 1542, Cabrillo made the Punta de la California, the easternmost land of the peninsula,[2] where the ships remained two days. Proceeding along its western coast, often baffled by contrary winds and calms, and making frequent stoppages for wood and water, the ships passed between the mainland and the barren pinnacles of Santa Margarita Island,[3] under the lofty volcanic peaks of the

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[1] Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 7, lib. v., caps. iii., iv., pp. 89–91. "Relacion, ó diario, de la navegacion que hizo Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo con dos navios, al descubrimiento del paso del Mar del Sur al norte," etc., *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 173, 186. There is a careful English translation by R. S. Evans, with introductory notes by H. W. Henshaw, in the *Report upon United States Geographical Survey* (Wheeler), vol. vii., p. 293. The author of the relation is not known; it has been attributed to Ferrelo after the death of Cabrillo, and to Juan Paez, whose name appears three times on a copy in the Muñoz collection. See *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 189, note.

[2] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 173; Davidson, "Voyages," in *ibid.*, p. 160.

[3] Davidson, *ibid.*, p. 164.

Cerros Islands,[1] and on Monday, the 21st of August, reached the port of San Quintin.[2] Here Cabrillo landed, took possession in the name of his Majesty and the most illustrious Señor Don Antonio de Mendoza, and named it Puerto de la Posesion. During a week spent in repairing sails and obtaining a supply of water, some Indians came aboard ship, whose thighs, bodies, and arms were decorated with slashes of white bitumen, giving them the appearance of being clothed in slashed doublets and hose, and who indicated by signs that they had seen bearded men like the Spaniards, who brought dogs, crossbows, and arrows. At the end of the week he again set sail, still meeting at times light and contrary winds. The 26th and 27th of September found the ships opposite the desolate group of the Coronados Islands, which Cabrillo well named the Islas Desiertas; but the aspect of the shore had undergone a change, and the sandy stretch which extends along the peninsula to the Bay of Todos los Santos had given place to "a country of beautiful vegetation and better appearance."[3]

The following day, September 28, 1542, which was a Thursday, the little fleet entered the Bay of San Diego, on the extreme south-western end of the present State of California.[4] Cabrillo had discovered what, with the exception of the harbour of San Francisco, is the best bay upon our Pacific coast. It is a long, curving body of water, from half a mile to ten miles in width and some twelve miles in length, running almost parallel with the Pacific, from which it is separated to the south-west and west by a narrow strip of sand-dunes. To the north and north-west it is closed in by Point Loma, a promontory about two hundred feet in height, stretching far out into the sea and terminating in a bold bluff. The ridge of the point, in appearance like a long, flat-topped island, is visible to distant ships, and was probably covered at that time with a forest of oak and other trees, of which no vestige now remains.[1] Cabrillo gave it the name of the Bay of San Miguel and remained there storm-bound until the 3rd of October. A fishing party having gone ashore at night was received by the Indians with a discharge of arrows by which three of the crew were wounded, but a little kindly treatment soon restored peace. The following morning there came to the ships three natives, of large stature, who signified by signs that there were travelling in the interior men clothed, bearded, and armed, like the Spaniards, with crossbows and swords. The three savages, says the narrative, "made gestures with the right arm as if they were throwing lances, and went running in a posture as if they were riding on horseback, and made signs that they [these Spaniards] had killed many of the native Indians, and that for this reason they were afraid."[2] It is not at all improbable that reference was made to the horses and lances of the last expedition of Diaz. The narrative adds that the Christians were here called *Guacamal*.

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[1] Davidson, "Voyages," in *ibid.*, p. 174, Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 175, "Isla de Zedros."

[2] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 176, "Puerto de la Posesion"; Davidson, "Voyages," in *ibid.*, p. 184.

[3] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 178, 179; Davidson, "Voyages," in *ibid.*, pp. 190, 192.

[4] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 179. Navarrete (Introduction to *Sutil y Mexicana Viage*, xxix.-xxxvi.), Bancroft (*Hist. Cal.*, vol. i., p. 7, and *North Mexican States*, vol. i., p. 135), and Davidson ("Vogages," in *ibid.*, p. 193) all identify Cabrillo's San Miguel with San Diego; Evans, in Wheeler's *Survey*, vol. vii., p. 304, identifies it with San Mateo.

When the storm, which was the first one the adventurers had experienced, subsided, Cabrillo again set sail.

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[1] Vizcaino's relation (extract from lib. v. of Torquemada's *Monarchia Indiana*), printed in Venegas's *Hist. Cal.*, vol. ii., p. 271, London, 1759; Davidson, "Voyages," in *ibid.*, pp. 191–192; Bartlett's *Personal Narrative*, vol. ii., p. 94; W. H. Emory, "Notes of a Military Reconnoissance," *Ex. Doc. No. 41*, p. 113, Thirtieth Cong., First Session.

[2] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 179.

Slowly coasting along he found the shore well peopled and dotted with villages whose inhabitants visited him in their canoes when the sea was quiet, gave him the names of a great number of tribes who lived along the seaboard, and so convinced him of the presence of Spaniards but seven days distant in the interior that he sent a letter by their hands to his unknown compatriots. On Wednesday, the 18th of October, a cape was observed shaped like a galley,— Cape Conception,[1]— to which the name of Cabo de Galera was given; but as there was a fresh north-west wind blowing, Cabrillo stood off from shore, and, discovering the two islands of Santa Rosa and San Miguel,[2] entered a harbour in the latter, where he remained until the twenty-fifth. He named it Isla de la Posesion. On the islands were a number of villages inhabited by poor, naked fishermen, with faces painted like a chess-board. Their only food was the fish they caught; they lived "very swinishly," says the narrative, slept upon the ground, and herded together in great huts, fifty in one dwelling.

During the stay of seven days at the island, Cabrillo had the misfortune to fall and break his arm near the shoulder.[3] Despite his painful wound, mended with what scant surgery the sailors knew, the chill of the evenings and mornings, the storms, and the dark and cloudy weather which had prevailed during the month of October, the intrepid captain left San Miguel to continue his discovery, but was so beset with rain and adverse winds that, unable to round Cape Conception, he was compelled to seek refuge under it, where he anchored and went on shore. Finding it difficult to obtain wood at this anchorage, which he called Puerto de Todos Santos, he coasted some distance down the Santa Barbara

[1] Davidson, "Voyages," in *ibid.*, p. 204.

[2] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 182; Davidson, "Voyages," in *ibid.*, p. 205.

[3] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 185, "por junto al hombro."

shore to a bay[1] having on it an Indian village, where he remained until the 6th of November, taking in wood and water.[2] He found the coast densely populated, for he gives the names of seventeen villages in a distance of eleven miles[3] from this Puerto de Sardinas, as he called it. Ciucut appeared to be the chief town, where dwelt an old woman who was recognised as chieftainess over the others. The villages consisted of round houses, "with double sloping roofs, like those of New Spain." There were large public commons, and a circular enclosure around which the natives danced. These enclosures were surrounded by stones some three palms in height planted in the earth, and in the centre were "sticks of timber driven into the ground like masts and very thick," on which were "pictures," and which the Spaniards supposed were worshipped by the natives.[4] Their burying-grounds were fenced with boards. The people dressed in the skins of animals, ate fish, acorns, and a white grain as large as maize, "of which," adds the narrative appreciatively, "they make tamales; it is good eating." They were kindly disposed towards the Spaniards.

Setting sail again, the ships continued abreast of the lofty coast range which extends as far as Point Pinos.[5] On the eleventh, as they were lying off the point which was named Cabo de San Martin, waiting for the day, there arose about four o'clock in the morning so violent a storm from the south-west with rain and dark, cloudy weather, that they could not carry a "hand's-breath" of sail, and were compelled to run before it. During the night the vessels became separated and lost sight of each other. Sunday the storm increased in violence, the crew of the flagship threw overboard everything that could lighten her, and in their extremity vowed a pilgrimage to Our Lady of the Rosary and the Blessed Mother of Pity. Their prayer was not in vain, for she favoured them with a little fair weather.[1] On Monday, at the hour of vespers, the weather having cleared and the wind veered to the west, the flagship at once made sail "and went in search of their consort, steering towards the land, the sailors praying to God that they might discover her." Running to the north and northeast, keeping a sharp lookout during the night, she made land in the morning, along which she cruised seeking for a harbour, the swell still running so high "that it was fearful to behold."[2] On Wednesday she again sighted her consort, which being smaller and having no gun-deck, had run even greater dangers than the *San Salvador*.

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[1] The Gaviota anchorage off the Gaviota Pass, lat. 34° 27′.—Davidson, "Voyages," in *ibid.*, p. 208.

[2] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 183.

[3] Davidson, "Voyages," in *ibid.*, p. 20.

[4] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 183–184.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 184; Davidson, "Voyages," in *ibid.*, p. 210.

On the eighteenth, the ships found themselves at night off Cabo de San Martin,[3] and held on their course in sight of the San Francisco Peninsula Mountains.[4] The narrative says these mountains are "very bold, and there is a great swell of the sea, and the land is very lofty; there are mountains which rise to the sky and the sea beats upon them. While sailing near land it appears as if they would fall upon the ships; they are covered with snow to the summit."[5] Soon, however, the ships turned about, and, running from point to point in search of shelter, made the island of La Posesion on the twenty-third, where they put in to winter. The month of December proved very cold and stormy, with rain and snow and heavy clouds; and though the vessels lay in a landlocked harbour, the surf was so great that for three and four days together it was found impossible to go ashore; but repairs were made to the *Victoria*, which had entered the harbour in a sinking condition.[1]

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[1] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 185; Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 7, lib. v., cap. iv., p. 90.

[2] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 184.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 185; Davidson, "Voyages," in *ibid.*, pp. 212, 224, says either Point Pinos or near Point Carmel.

[4] Davidson, "Voyages," in *ibid.*, p. 224.

[5] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 185.

With the opening of the new year, on the 3rd of January, 1543, the company had the misfortune to lose its brave commander, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, who died from the effects of his fall during the first visit to the island. It is difficult to conceive of greater courage, determination, and endurance than that of this obscure Portuguese mariner, wounded, and storm-tossed through the chill of an unusually early winter, with small and unprotected vessels, pressing unswervingly on through unknown waters, pausing only to repair one of his sinking ships, and dying with the earnest charge upon his lips that his comrades should not give up the discovery, as far as possible, of all the coast. More appreciative of his deserts than a later generation, the sailors gave his name to the island, to-day barren and desolate with the drifted sand,[2] where he breathed his last.

Cabrillo left the chief pilot, Bartolomé Ferrelo, in command of the ships, and on the 19th of January sail was set for the mainland in search of provisions, but storms and foul weather and the failure to find a port where shelter could be had compelled a return to the island on the twenty-seventh. The little fleet next went to one of the neighbouring islands, probably that of Santa Rosa,[3] where it recovered some anchors left there in a previous storm; but it was again storm-bound by wind and snow until the 12th of February,[4] when it ran to its former anchorage, the Puerto de Sardinas, to procure supplies, but found fewer Indians than before, and no fishing, on account of the winter season, most of the natives having probably retired into the interior to avoid the severity of the winter storms along the coast. Not daring to remain longer at the anchorage on account of the swell of the sea, a southerly course was taken in search of certain islands, during which run a sailor was lost; but the increased violence of the wind and the high sea drove the vessels inshore. With shifting winds and varying course, the ships followed up the coast, the high seas at times breaking over them. They sighted in succession the Cabo de Pinos, the Punta de Arena, and the high mountain range northward of Punta Delgada, until on Wednesday, the twenty-eighth, their observations showed them to be in latitude 43°.[1]

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[1] Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 7, lib. v., cap. iv., p. 90.

[2] Evans and Henshaw, in Wheeler, *U. S. Geographical Survey*, vol. vii., p. 311, note. The Cabrillo relation, *Col. Doc. Fla.*, p. 186, says its Indian name was "Ciquimuymu."

[3] Davidson, "Voyages," in *ibid.*, p. 228.

[4] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Fla.*, p. 186.

Thursday, the 1st of March,

> "at daybreak the wind shifted to the south-west with great fury, and the seas came from many parts and harassed them much, and broke over the ships, which not having decks,[2] if God should not succour them, they could not escape, and not being able to lay to, of necessity they scudded north-east towards the land; and now holding themselves for lost, they commended themselves to Our Lady of Guadaloupe,"

possibly the Lady of Mexico whose famous miracle had recently brought her into great repute,[3] "and made their wills, and ran thus until three o'clock in the afternoon with much fear and labour;" for although the thick weather hid the land from sight, birds and fresh logs were seen, which, says Mr. Davidson,[1] have always been a feature of the coast north of Cape Mendocino near which they now were.

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[1] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 187; Davidson, "Voyages," in *ibid.*, p. 228.

[2] "Y no tener puente." In Spanish "puente" does not mean exactly "deck" when applied to a ship. It means the place where the batteries of a ship are situated.—Davidson, "Voyages," in *ibid.*, p. 234.

[3] Her miraculous appearance was December 12, 1531, says Vetancourt, in his "Cronica," *Teatro*, tomo iv., pte. iv., t. 5, p. 127. But see the unanswerable evidence of the recent origin of the legend by Don Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta in the letter written to the bishop of Mexico and published after his death in the City of Mexico in 1896.

> "At this hour the Mother of God succoured them with the grace of her Son," continues the narrative,[2] "and there came a very violent rain-storm from the north, which made them sail all that night and the following day until sunset to the south with the foresails furled; and because there was a high sea from the south it broke over them each time by the prow and passed over them as if over a rock, and the wind shifted to the north-west and the north-north-west with great fury, so that it made them run until Saturday, the 3rd of March, to the south-east and to the south-south-east with such a high sea that it made them cry out without reserve that if God and His Blessed Mother did not miraculously save them, they could not escape. Saturday at noon the wind moderated and remained at the north-west, for which they gave many thanks to Our Lord. They suffered also in provisions, as they had only biscuit and that damaged."

During this storm the fleet had reached the highest point attained during the expedition, stated by Herrera to have been in latitude 44° north. Allowing for the error in the observations, the ships were at that time off what is now the boundary line between California and Oregon, in latitude 42° 30'.[3]

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[1] Davidson, "Voyages," in *ibid.*, p. 234.

[2] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 187.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 188; Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 7, lib. v., cap. iv., p. 91; Gomara, liv. vi., chap. 17, p. 466 (Fumée's trans.), says, "Some say he reached 45°," but he does not refer to Cabrillo by name. Bancroft (*Hist. North Mexican States*, vol. i., p. 136, *Hist. North-Western Coast*, vol. i., p. 138, and *Hist. Cal.*, vol. i., pp. 69, 78-80) makes the error in the observation an excess of from 1° 30' to 2°; Davidson ("Voyages," in *ibid.*, p. 234) makes the error from 57' to 100'. Both agree that the highest point reached is 42° 30' by deducting the error which gives the position assumed in the text. For the variation of the compass at the end of the

Returning along the coast and unable to take refuge under it on account of the high seas which were still running, with the crew suffering greatly from the cold and reduced to one pound of mouldy biscuit per ration, the ships made a run of five days, but on the night of the 4th of March again parted company in a violent storm. The following day the *Victoria*, having given up her consort for lost, found herself off her former wintering-place, the island of San Miguel, but could not make the harbour, so she ran under the protection of another island. Here her brave crew, mastered by the hardships they had so patiently endured, demanded that they should return to New Spain because they had nothing left that could be eaten, "and as this was in reason," frankly observes the narrative, the ship departed on her homeward voyage, looking for her consort. Following down the coast, no signs of the *San Salvador* were seen, although the *Victoria* put in to shore in search of her, bringing off four Indians from one place, and from the Bay of San Diego, where six days were spent, two Indian boys to serve as interpreters.

At last, having arrived off the Isla de Cedros, on the 24th of March, two days later the *San Salvador* appeared. She had passed San Miguel in the night, going through some breakers so dangerous that her crew thought they must be lost. But the ever potent Lady of the Sea again came to their aid, for the terrified sailors "promised to go in procession naked to her church, and Our Lady delivered them."[1] The primitive costume of the pilgrims

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fifteenth century, see "Variations of the Compass in 1492," Appendix C, in G. V. Fox, "An Attempt to Solve the Problem of the First Landing-Place of Columbus in the New World," *U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey* (Report for 1880), Appendix No. 18, p. 60. For its variation in 1540, see the note by Chas. A. Schott, Brower's *Memoirs*, vol. i., p. xxi. But Bancroft (*Hist. Cal.*, vol. i., pp. 78–80, note) and Winsor (*Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 444) doubt if he reached beyond Cape Mendocino.

[1] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 189.

was probably indicative of their humility and absolute dependence upon her aid. Leaving the Isla de Cedros on the 2nd of April, the ships reached the port of La Navidad on the fourteenth of the same month, having lost during the entire expedition, out of both crews, but Cabrillo and one sailor.

It is a story of brave adventure and obstinate perseverance in the face of ever present danger, and yet told with such unpretending and sailor-like simplicity by the writer of the narrative, that only by taking thought can one realise the hardships endured and the perils encountered. Its results were small enough; a storm-beaten coast inhabited by half-naked savages, who lived mostly by fishing and dwelt in rude villages with unpronounceable names, and the vague inference "that there was a very large river, of which they had much indication, between 41 and 43 degrees, for they saw many signs of it,"[1] which, to a sanguine imagination, might hold the promise of the coveted straits. But a full half-century was destined to elapse before Spain was again to attempt the exploration of the coast of Alta California.

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[1] Cabrillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 188; Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 7, lib. v., cap. iv., p. 90, says they were searching for the Rio de Nuestra Señora.

CHAPTER VIII

EXPEDITIONS OF TRISTAN DE LUNA TO ALABAMA AND OF ANGEL DE VILLAFAÑE TO SANTA ELENA

THE disastrous failure of Hernando de Soto's Florida expedition had in nowise cooled the ardour of his compatriots for its possession. Mendoza, stretching with the grasp of a giant his viceregal arms to the shores of either ocean, had scarcely learned from Moscoso and his companions the story of their strange adventures before he sought to induce them to renew the attempt at his own expense, meanwhile supporting them with pensions, offices, and gifts; but his efforts were unavailing, and the remnant of the expedition dispersed, some to return to Spain, others to seek new fields in Peru, and still others to remain in Mexico.[1]

The following year (1544) Julian de Samano and Pedro de Ahumada, lured on by the hope of trading with the Mexicans the fine pearls and peltries of Florida, and of discovering mines of precious and other metals after the country had been reduced, applied for the right of conquest,[2] promising to deal gently with the natives; but Philip, who, during the absence of the emperor in Germany, was governing Spain, influenced by the advice of the Council of the Indies, and of others, probably the Church, at that time meditated a more peaceful conquest by means of the monks,[1] whose mission, undertaken in 1549, is related in a subsequent chapter.

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[1] *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 24, Año MDXLIII.; Garcilaso, *La Florida del Inca*, lib. vi., cap. xx., pp. 263 *et seq.*

[2] *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 24, Año MDLXIV.; Gomara, liv. ii., chap. 10, p. 57a (Fumée's trans.).

In 1545, a vessel was wrecked upon the coast, and of its crew of two hundred souls some were slain by the natives and the remainder reduced to slavery.[2] A little later, the thirteen-year-old lad, Hernando de Escalante Fontanedo, author of an interesting and valuable description of the Florida Indians, was wrecked on their coast and lived in their midst for many years, if we are to believe the account which he gives of himself; but it contains some grave inaccuracies which seriously impair its credibility in this respect.[3]

A similar misfortune was repeated in 1553, when a treasure fleet bound for Spain, carrying over one thousand soldiers, merchants, women, children, and five Dominican monks, was lost off the Gulf coast. Of the three hundred who managed to get ashore, all but a very few, including a certain Fray Marcos de Mena, a lay brother, succumbed to the hardships they were compelled to endure or to the attacks of the Indians. The escape of the monk was remarkable. Exhausted from his wounds inflicted by the Indian arrows, which he had painfully extracted, and to all appearance at the point of death, Fray Marcos was buried by his companions in the sand on the bank of a river, his face being left exposed that he might still breathe during the little while he had yet to live, and then they proceeded on their way. The monk soon fell asleep in his grave, but awoke so refreshed by his rest and the warmth of the sand, that he endeavoured to follow in the track of his comrades. Proceeding along the shore he at last came upon the party which had so recently buried him, every one of them dead, slain by the Indians. He himself was finally rescued by two friendly natives in a canoe, who gave him a cotton mantle and carried him safely back to Tampico.[1] So valuable was the treasure lost on this occasion, that Angel de Villafañe was sent to the locality of the wreck to seek for it, and he succeeded in recovering a portion of the cargo, and in rescuing a compatriot whom he found in hiding on the shore.[2] In the following year (1554) came the wreck of Farfan's fleet of fifteen vessels on the Atlantic coast.[3]

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[1] Gomara, liv. ii., chap. 10, p. 58 (Fumée's trans.).

[2] *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 24, Año MDXLV.

[3] "Memoria de las cosas y costa y indios de la Florida," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. v., p. 532; the French translation by Ternaux-Compans is, *Mémoire sur la Floride*, etc., par Hernando d'Escalante Fontanedo in *Recueil de Pièces*. He says, p. 27, he was wrecked in 1551; Shipp's *De Soto and Florida*, p. 584; Brinton's *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 27.

For a lapse of fifteen or sixteen years[4] there is no record of a secular attempt to gain possession of the mainland to vary this doleful succession of shipwrecks; yet the fame of the greatness, fertility, and wealth of Florida so worked upon the Spanish colonists in Mexico, that the viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, entitled "the Emancipator" for his first official act of freeing one hundred and fifty thousand Indian slaves, and who in November, 1550,[5] had succeeded Mendoza, wrote home, in 1556, urging upon the government the importance of its reduction. To this appeal the bishop of Mexico, undeterred by the failure of the first independent mission made but seven years before, added the weight of his authority,[6] as did also the bishop of Cuba, in whose diocese Florida lay. That same year the Cuban bishop became the author of a somewhat utilitarian suggestion for the employment of a part of the Florida population. Much distressed at the gradual decrease of the Indians on his island, owing to the marriage of the native women to the Spaniards and *mestizos*, which had so reduced the available supply of the fair sex that, to quote his own words, " an Indian who could get a wife eighty years old thought himself in luck," he proposed that as Florida was readily accessible from Havana, the Floridian women should be imported into Cuba to furnish wives for these compulsory celibates.[1] In his tender solicitude for the " thorn in the flesh " of those of his flock immediately under his eyes, the good monk had scarcely considered in what condition he would leave the sheep on the outskirts of his fold.

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[1] *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 28 *et seq.*, Año MDLIII.; Davila Padilla, *Historia de la Fundacion* (1st edit. of 1596), lib. i., cap. lxxxvi., pp. 341 *et seq.*, gives the names of the five friars.

[2] *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 31, Año MDLIV.

[3] Fontanedo, *Recueil de Pièces*, p. 27; "Carta que escrivio Fran^{co} Duarte á S. M. desde la Playa de Zahara con fecha de Enero de 1555;" in Buckingham Smith, *North America MSS., 1500–1560*. See also the extracts given on pp. 331, 332 of the same volume.

[4] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lviii., p. 231, says from 1542 to 1558.

[5] Alaman, *Dicertaciones Historicas*, vol. iii., Appendice, p. 11.

[6] *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 31, Año MDLVI.

Neither was this the first effort of the archbishop of Mexico in the cause of the Floridian natives. Writing to the emperor under date of November 1, 1555, he says:

> " Since it pertains to our pastoral position and the apostolic office which we hold to seek by all permissible ways and means that the faith of Christ our Redeemer be extended and that all peoples come to the knowledge of God and to the salvation of their souls, we beseech your Majesty that you be pleased to provide and command by such means as may appear most just, that Florida and her people come to the knowledge of their Creator, since we have it so near at hand, and know the numberless people which are lost therein from having none to preach to them the Holy Gospel." [2]

Two years later, in 1557, Doctor Pedro de Santander, urging upon the king a scheme for colonising the Florida coast at various points, addressed him in a very different spirit. After reminding his sovereign that "like a good shepherd appointed by the hand of the Eternal Father," he "should tend and lead out" his sheep, Santander continues:

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[1] " Capítulos de una carta de fray Diego Sarmiento, obispo de Cuba fecha en la villa del Bayamo à 20 de Abril de 1556."—*Doc. Inedit.*, vol. v., p. 553.

[2] " Carta dirigida al Emperador, por acuerdo del concilio celebrado en Méjico en 1555, pidiendo se remediasen algunas necesidades de aquella iglesia."—*Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., pp. 520, 526; Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 127.

> "This [Florida] is the land promised by the Eternal Father to the faithful, since we are commanded by God in the Holy Scriptures to take it from them, being idolaters, and, by reason of their idolatry and sin, to put them all to the knife, leaving no living thing save maidens and children, their cities robbed and sacked, their walls and houses levelled to the earth." [1]

Authoritative and persistent appeals, such as these, coupled with the fears already awakened and so soon to be verified, of the occupation of the territory by an adverse foreign power, at last bore fruit. An expedition to colonise Florida at two points, one undesignated, and the other at Santa Elena on the South Carolina coast, was determined on in 1558 by Philip II., and its execution was entrusted to the viceroy, Don Velasco, a man of no mean ability. Disregarding the counsels of such zealots as the learned doctor, the king charged the provincial of the Dominicans in Mexico with the selection of "religious" to accompany the undertaking, in which Christian spirit he was ably seconded by the viceroy, who directed that the colonists were not "to conquer those nations, nor to do what has been done in the discovery of the Indies, but to settle, and by good example, with good works and with presents, to bring them to a knowledge of Our Holy Faith and Catholic Truth." [2]

Before the departure of the colony, Velasco, desiring more definite information than he had yet received about the country it was to settle, dispatched Guido de las Bazares with three vessels and a party of sixty soldiers and sailors to select a harbour, and also to reconnoitre the neighbourhood of Cape Santa Elena. Setting sail the 3rd of September, 1558, from San Juan de Ulloa, Bazares, having first touched at Panuco, landed on the Texas shore in latitude 27° 30′ on the fourteenth of the same month, and coasting along discovered in latitude 28° 30′ a bay,—perhaps that of Matagorda,—of which he took formal possession, naming it San Francisco Bay. From here he sailed in a south-easterly direction to sight the Alacranes, a group of islands off the northern coast of Yucatan, in order to take his departure for Florida. Once off the coast of the latter, contrary winds prevented his landing where he had intended, and he appears to have reached the Gulf shore of what is now the State of Mississippi on the eastern side of the delta of the Mississippi River, in latitude 29° 40′. He explored all the coast, and finding it bordered with shallows, the country submerged in many places, and in nowise fitted for a settlement, he sailed eastward through the Mississippi Sound and discovered Mobile Bay, which he named the Bay of Filipina.[1]

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[1] "Carta del Doctor Pedro de Santander" in Parkman's *Pioneers of France in the New World*, p. 17, note 4. Boston, 1893.

[2] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lviii., p. 231; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 32, Año MDLVII.; Letter of Father Pedro de Feria of March 3, 1559, quoted by Shea in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 256; the viceroy's address in Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. lviii., p. 232.

Bazares was delighted with the appearance of the country, the open forests of pine fit for shipbuilding, the different varieties of oak, the nut trees, cedars, laurel and chinquapin, palm trees, and vines stretching from the very edge of the shore back into the interior. Beneath their spreading boughs the future colonists could find what grazing they needed for their horses and cattle. Birds and other game abounded, and in the teeming waters the natives built their fish-ponds and fished from great canoes. Maize, beans, and pumpkins were found in the Indian huts. It was distant two hundred and fifty leagues from the port of San Juan de Ulloa, said

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[1] See Appendix T, in this volume, "Bay of Filipina."

Bazares. He took possession of the bay and twice attempted to sail to the eastward, but contrary winds preventing he succeeded only in discovering the shore for a distance of twenty leagues, finding that its trend was first to the east, and then to the south-east. The severity of the winter season, coupled with the advice of his pilots that it was dangerous further to prosecute the discovery, convinced Bazares that it was time to return, and leaving the Bay of Filipina on the 3rd of December he reached San Juan de Ulloa on the fourteenth without attempting the reconnoissance of the South Carolina shore.[1]

Preparations for the departure of the colonists were completed during the first half of the following year. The flattering reports which the survivors of Narvaez's and De Soto's expeditions had spread abroad of the wealth of the country to be settled, and particularly of the province of Coça in north-eastern Alabama, readily attracted volunteers to the contemplated undertaking, and on the 11th of June, 1559, a fleet of thirteen vessels set sail from the port of Vera Cruz amidst repeated salutes, and bearing with it the colonists. They left in high spirits, after a parting address from the viceroy, who had attended them thus far on their march from the City of Mexico.[2] The company consisted of fifteen hundred persons, including the soldiers, women, and children, servants, and negro slaves, and a number of Florida Indians who had come to Mexico with the escaped Spaniards, besides two hundred and forty horses. The troops were commanded by six captains of infantry and six of horse. Half of these officers were already acquainted with the country, having previously been in the province of Coça, and the soldiers themselves had been recruited as far as possible from those who had already fought in that region, or who, wrecked upon the coast, and rescued by the Indians, had finally made their escape and returned to Mexico.[1] With them went six Dominican friars, Fray Pedro de Feria as provincial vicar of Florida, Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion, Fray Domingo de Salaçar,[2] and three others, among them Fray Bartolomé Matheos, formerly a gunner in the employ of Gonzalo Pizarro, one of the conquerors of Peru. As captain-general of the fleet and governor of Florida,[3] the viceroy named Don Tristan de Luna y Arellano, son of the governor of Yucatan, and Juan Ceron was appointed camp-master.

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[1] "Declaracion de Guido de Bazares," in Buckingham Smith, *North America MSS.* The French translation is "Compte-rendu par Guido de las Bazares," in *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, p. 143.

[2] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lviii., p. 233. "Relacion de D. Luis de Velasco, Virey de Nueva España, á S. M. (Felipe II.), dando noticia del suceso de la armada que habia mandado á poblar la costa y tierra de la Florida á las órdenes de su gobernador D. Tristan de Arellano," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 11; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 32, Año MDLVIII., and fol. 32, Año MDLIX.

The destination of the fleet seems to have been for the port of Ichuse, Pensacola Bay, which, it will be remembered, had been discovered by Maldonado, De Soto's lieutenant, in the winter of 1539–40,[4] and not for the port which had so pleasantly impressed Bazares. At any rate, after a favourable voyage of about a month, during which one hundred of the horses aboard-ship died, land was made in latitude 29° 30′ on the 17th of July, within eight leagues of the Bay of Miruelo, apparently along the coast west of the Appalachicola River.[5] From this point the fleet proceeded westward in search of the port of Ichuse, but, missing it, passed beyond and came to anchor in Bazares's Bay of Filipina. Still intent upon the port of Ichuse, Arellano sent a vessel eastward in search of it, and, having at last found it, retraced his course with the fleet and finally entered it on the 14th of August, the vespers of the Ascension of the Queen of the Angels, for which reason he named it the Bay of Santa Maria Filipina.[1] The horses with some of the captains whom he had put ashore at Mobile Bay made their way back by land. A landing was effected unopposed by the natives, who appeared to be few in number, and on the twenty-fourth of the same month Arellano sent a galleon back to Mexico with a report of the success which had so far attended his movements, the promise of a fertile and peopled country in the interior, and asking for more horses and supplies, that he might not be compelled to obtain food by force from the natives, whose good-will he desired to gain. It was his intention, he wrote, not to penetrate into the interior, but to colonise and fortify the port until the arrival of the supplies.[2]

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[1] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lviii., p. 231, says eight of them had been in Florida; Velasco, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 11; *Ensayo, Cronologico*, fol. 32, Año MDLVIII. and fols. 32, 33, MDLIX.

[2] He was the first *calificador* of the Holy Office of the Inquisition after its regular establishment in Mexico. Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lxxi., p. 278.

[3] "Carta de Tristan de Luna y Arellano, gobernador de la Florida, á S. M. sobre lo acaecido en aquellas partes, Sept. 24, 1559." *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xiii., p. 280. Possibly Coronado's Tristan de Arellano.

[4] See p. 226.

[5] "Á la banda del Hueste," Velasco, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 11.

Exploring parties, each accompanied by a monk, were sent in different directions along the shore and up the river into the interior; some of the stores were unloaded, but unfortunately, as it ultimately proved, the major part of the supplies, of which there were enough for one year, was left aboard the ships, and two vessels were equipped to carry the news to Spain, in one of which the ex-gunner, Fray Matheos, was to sail for home.[3] But if the Indians had proved non-resisting, the winds now took up the gauntlet in defence of the plains and mountains where they were born. On the night of the 19th of September there came from the north a great tempest which lasted for twenty-four hours with constantly increasing violence. It shattered to pieces five ships, a galleon, and a bark, with great loss of life, among others that of the gunner-monk. It swept a caravel with its cargo into a grove of trees distant more than an arquebuse-shot from the shore, and besides the loss of the vessel carrying most of the provisions for the army the waters destroyed the greater part of the materials already landed. Indeed, so fierce and terrific was the storm and such the devastation it wrought, that, unable to account for it by natural means, it was attributed to evil spirits, and some of those on shore at the time averred that they had even seen the devils in the air.[1]

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[1] See Appendix U, in this volume, "Bay of Santa Maria Filipina of Arellano."

[2] Velasco, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 10.

[3] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lix., p. 235; "Carta de Tristan de Luna y Arellano," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xiii., p. 280; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 33, Año MDLIX.

In this extremity the colonists, awaiting the return of the explorers, lived upon what provisions were found in the stranded caravel, and Arellano determined that as soon as he should receive their report he would seek some place in the interior where the colonists could subsist, leaving what little food had escaped the general disaster for those who were to remain in the settlement he had established at the port.[2] But after three weeks, the exploring parties returned with the discouraging news that the country was sterile and uninhabited.

A major was next sent with four companies of horse and foot to penetrate still farther into the interior; he was attended by two energetic monks, Frays Anunciacion and Salaçar, who went at the command of the provincial vicar, Fray Feria.[3] Travelling forty leagues through a desolate and uninhabited wilderness, the major came upon a great river, in all probability the Alabama,[1] and following along its banks was rewarded by the discovery of a deserted Indian village of eighty huts, the largest found in all that country, situated perhaps in Monroe County not far from the head waters of the Escambia. After a while some of the inhabitants were found, who informed the Spaniards that the town, whose name was Nanipacna, had been partly destroyed and its inhabitants driven away by Spaniards who had been there at other times, referring, there is little doubt, to the army of De Soto which had wintered in that neighbourhood in 1539–40.[2]

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[1] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lix., pp. 236–237, says the date was August 20th, in which Barcia follows him. "Carta de Tristan de Luna y Arellano," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xiii., p. 281.

[2] "Carta de Tristan de Luna," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xiii., p. 280; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 33, Año MDLIX.

[3] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lxi., p. 242; Shea in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 258, note 1.

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[1] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lxi., p. 242; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 38, Año MDLX. Barcia says (*ibid.*, fol. 33, Año MDLIX.) the major was forty days in finding it. Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 258) thinks the river was "apparently the Escambia." Fairbanks (*Florida*, p. 88) says "the Alabama, and the Indian town was somewhat near Camden, in Wilcox County, Alabama." This conclusion of Fairbanks is quite inconsistent with the account that in forty leagues they found "un rio muy grande y hondo," and a short distance beyond ("a pocos pasos," literally "a few steps") the villages.

[2] Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 258) places Nanipacna on the Escambia, but Fairbanks (*Florida*, p. 88) near Camden. Nanipacna was on "vn rio muy grande y hondo" (Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, p. 242), forty leagues from the port (*ibid.*, p. 242), could be reached from the port by river as well as by land (*Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 33, Año MDLIX.), and had been destroyed by Spaniards, who had visited it at other times ("otras veces," Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, p. 242). They marched directly north from Nanipacna to Coça, finding the Olibahali at a distance of fifty days' journey on the way. The return was made from Coça in twelve days, a distance it had required two hundred and seventy days to go.

The southernmost point in Alabama reached by De Soto, in October, 1540, was Mavila on either the Tuscaloosa or Alabama River, in the neighbourhood of latitude 32°. By placing Coça on the Coosa River between Yufala and Natche Creeks, the Olibahali on Hatchet Creek in Coosa County, the Bay of Santa Maria at Pensacola Bay, and Nanipacna in Monroe County on the Alabama River, all fairly well fill the requirements of the narrative. Thus Nanipacna will be in the track of De Soto, above the lowest southern point reached by him, within forty leagues of Pensacola Bay, accessible most of the way by the Escambia or by the Alabama, As maize, beans, and other provisions were found in the deserted habitations, and further explorations proved unsuccessful,[1] the major notified Tristan de Luna of his discovery. It seems not improbable that somewhere about this date the timely arrival of two vessels with supplies sent to him by the viceroy in November, and sufficient to maintain his people throughout the winter,[2] induced the governor to remain longer at the port than he at first had intended. But whatever the place in which De Luna wintered, having consumed what food remained at Pensacola Bay, and having been delirious with a fever, he departed with over one thousand of his colonists by river and by land for Nanipacna, leaving a lieutenant with fifty men and negro slaves in charge of the port.[3]

The stores in the town, which the governor had named Nanipacna de Santa Cruz, proved inadequate, and the early spring of 1560 again saw the colony in its usual straits for food. The soldiers were reduced to eating acorns, ground and soaked first in salt water and then in fresh to extract their bitterness. The food thus prepared still remained so unpalatable that the women and children could in nowise endure it, and wandered about seeking for the leaves and twigs of trees, but as it was in the month of April,[4] even these were not found in sufficient quantities to supply their need.

This same month a detachment of six captains with

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or by land, with no intervening swamps or deep rivers, and with Olibahali and Coça to the north-north-east, approximately in the northerly direction which was taken from Nanipacna—say one hundred and fifty miles in a direct line to Olibahali and from there fifty or sixty miles farther to Coça.

[1] *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 32, Año MDLIX.

[2] Letter of Velasco of Oct. 15, 1559, citing a letter of Tristan de Luna, referred to by Shea in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 258, and note 3.

[3] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lxi., p. 243; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 33, Año MDLIX.; Shea, in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 258.

[4] Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. lxi., p. 244; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 33, Año MDLIX.

fifty horse and one hundred and fifty foot-soldiers, and numbering nearly three hundred in all, including masters and servants, under command of the major, with whom went Frays Salaçar and Anunciacion, was dispatched to find the way to the province of Coça.[1] Pushing forward directly north, the unfortunate explorers were soon in as bad a plight as those they had left behind. Finding not even leaves and barks of trees which could be eaten, they boiled the leather straps of their armour and of the harness, and even their boots; some ate the lining of their shields, "finding the raw leather not a sorry mouthful at such a pass"; and though the friars encouraged them with godly exhortations, "the hearers were in no mood for sermons," observes their monkish chronicler.[2] Some died of starvation and others were poisoned by the grasses they had eaten. To return was useless, for there famine confronted them as well as upon the journey, without even the poor hope of escape, so on they plodded through the uninhabited pine-barrens and sand-hills of southern Alabama,[3] at one time following an Indian trail, at another without any path whatever. In June they came upon a grove of chestnut and walnut trees, upon the nuts of which they feasted, "giving God thanks for the succour."[4] Loading themselves with the nuts, the unshod and almost naked soldiers pushed on in better spirits, and after fifty days of continuous marching[5] from Nanipacna, reached an Indian town near a large river called by the natives Olibahali.[6] They were now in Coosa County, Alabama, about Hatchet Creek.

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[1] Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. lxii., p. 245; also cap. lxix., p. 270, where he says the party returned early in November and was seven months in going and coming.

[2] Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. lxii., p. 246.

[3] Fairbanks, *Hist. of Florida*, p. 88.

[4] This ripening of nuts in June was due to the prayers of the friars.

[5] Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. lxii., pp. 245–246; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 34, Año MDLX.

[6] Fairbanks (*Hist. of Florida*, p. 88) thinks it was the Coosa or Alabama

The Olibahalis, who had probably had some previous experience with the Spaniards, although distrustful of their friendly protestations, treated them with much kindness; but fearing a prolonged visit from their hungry guests, they tricked out one of their number as an ambassador from the Coças, carrying in his hand a wand six palms long, and topped with white feathers, significant of peace,[1] who invited the Spaniards to visit his country. Having by this simple stratagem prevailed upon the explorers to follow the pretended ambassador a day's journey from their village, he there deserted them. But the Spaniards persevered, and in a few days' march reached Coça, on the Coosa River in Taladega County,[2] which proved to be a town of thirty houses, having in its neighbourhood seven other small villages. Such had been the hardships the determined adventurers had endured, and so exhausted must they have been from want of proper food, that they had spent sixty days in crossing a region which on the return was accomplished in one fifth of the time.

Here the major remained for three months, recruiting his horses and men, treated with great hospitality by the Coças, although they had been scattered among the mountains by De Soto's army.[3] Meanwhile Fray Anunciacion sought to intersperse some matters of religious instruction among the natives during his intercourse with

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River. Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 258) gives it the locality given in the text, and which is the same as that of the Ullibahali of De Soto. See p. 233 in this volume.

[1] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lxiii., p. 249. He adds that *red* indicated war.

[2] Gatschet (*Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 136), says it was "the same as De Soto's." Fairbanks *Hist. of Florida*, p. 88) says "the Coosa country in northeastern Alabama." Davila Padilla (*ibid.*, lib. i., cap. lxii., p. 246) says it was two hundred leagues from *the port*. Barcia (*Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 34, Año MDLX.) says it was two hundred leagues from Nanipacna. See p. 232 in this volume.

[3] Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. lxiii., p. 250.

them. He learned of the death of two of De Soto's followers, a common soldier and a negro, who had remained behind and lived eleven or twelve years in their midst, but his missionary efforts were doomed to disappointment, for the Coças were intent upon a war with the Napochies,[1] a tribe of Indians living apparently to the west of them on what may have been one of the tributaries of the Mississippi River, perhaps the Yazoo. They requested the assistance of the Spaniards against their enemies in return for the kindly treatment they had extended to them. To this the major assented, and gave them two captains with a party of fifty horse and foot to accompany them upon the war-path. The indefatigable Fray Anunciacion was also of the party.

The Coça warriors assembled to the number of some three hundred, armed with bows as tall as themselves, strung with sinews which had been well cured and twisted, and carrying quivers of feathered arrows tipped with dart-shaped flints, which were poisoned, and in the use of which they were very skilful.[2] Their departure was attended with much ceremony, and one day the Spaniards witnessed a curious performance significant of the final declaration of war. A platform about eight feet high had been erected near their camp, which was not far removed from that of the natives. Suddenly there came running through both camps eight Indian chiefs, who, seizing upon the cacique, lifted him upon their shoulders, and with great howlings and wild cries carried him to the steps of the platform, which he ascended and paced about with much gravity, while the braves grouped themselves below. He was then handed a fan of very beautiful feathers, with which he pointed three or four times towards the province of the Napochies, "with a motion like that observed by astrologers with the fore-staff." He was next handed some seeds, which he placed in his mouth, and again pointing with his fan in the direction of the enemy's country he ground the seeds between his teeth, and, scattering them as far as he could, cried out to his captains, who were watching him intently: "Friends, be comforted, for our journey will have a prosperous outcome, and our enemies shall be conquered and their forces crushed, like these seeds which I have destroyed in my mouth." He was answered with a great shout, and descending from the platform he mounted a horse lent to him by the Spaniards and led by one of the negroes, and thus began his march against the Napochies, much to the amusement of his white allies.[1]

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[1] Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. lxvi., p. 262; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 37, Año MDLX. Gatschet (*Migration Legend*, vol. i., pp. 99, 112, 190) thinks they were allies of the Chickasaws and perhaps the same as the Napissas. Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 258), says they were "in all probability the Natchez."

[2] Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. lxiv., p. 253.

Arriving within two leagues of the town of the Napochies, in the vicinity of a large river, the Indian leader requested the captain to omit the customary evening trumpet-call for the Ave Maria, that he might take the town by surprise; but he found to his disappointment that the inhabitants had just fled. On entering the square in the centre of the village, where stood a stake at which it was the custom to execute punishment upon Indian offenders, a savage spectacle met their eyes: the stake was decorated with the skulls and scalps of the Coças. Still more incensed at the sight of these trophies taken from their own people, the Coças cut down the stake, buried the remains of their former companions, and then dispersed themselves through the town in search of an object on which to wreak their vengeance.

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[1] Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. lxiv., p. 255; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 35, Año MDLX. Oviedo (vol. i., p. 567) describes the Tuscalusa chief of De Soto as attended by an Indian "con un quitasol en una vara que era como un moscador redondo y muy grande, con una cruz (semejante á la que traen los caballeros de la Órden de Sanct Johan de Rodas) en medio en campo negro, y la cruz blanca."

Their search was rewarded, for in one of the huts was found a strange Indian who had remained behind, unable to fly, on account of illness. Him they quickly dispatched with blows, and though Fray Anunciacion sought to convert him, "the unfortunate Indian gave no heed, as he should have, to so wise counsel, but surrendered his soul miserably to the devils, who had borne away those of his forefathers." The Indians next set fire to the town, but extinguished the flames on the threat of the Spaniards that they would desert them if their supply of food was thus destroyed.[1] That night the savages celebrated their victory with songs and dances to an accompaniment of flutes, a music which bred "rather horror than harmony" in the more dainty ears of their white allies. The Napochies were pursued to and even beyond the Oquechiton,[2] —the Mississippi River,—and were finally subdued, promising to pay the Coças, three times a year, a tribute of chestnuts and other fruit, and the victorious war party returned to Coça.

Meanwhile the major, who in the course of several months since leaving his commander had had no communication with De Luna, sent out daily parties to reconnoitre the country, but it was found uninhabited and without a trace of gold.[3] He now, on the return of the detachment from the Napochie war, dispatched a captain with twelve soldiers to Nanipacna, while he himself with the remainder of his command awaited their return at Coça, where food could be had in abundance. It took the messengers but twelve days[1] to reach the vicinity of Nanipacna, and as they neared the town two volleys were fired from their arquebuses to give notice of their approach. Meeting with no response, they began to look about them, and soon discovered some broken barrels and cases, and the body of a Spaniard hanging from a tree. Persuaded that the colony had fallen a victim to the treachery of the natives, they withdrew to a small hill where they passed the night, and on the following morning entered the town. Not a soul was left in it, but at last a tree was found on which was an inscription: "Dig below." Following this direction, a pot was unearthed, buried at the foot of the tree, which contained an account of what had occurred during their absence, and informed them that the colonists had returned to their post on Pensacola Bay. Delighted at learning that their companions were still alive, the messengers took up their march, and crossing in three days the forty leagues between Nanipacna and the harbour, were received with great rejoicings by the colonists, who had long given them up for dead.[2]

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[1] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lxv., p. 258; and cap. lxvi., p. 261.

[2] *Ibid.*, lib. i., cap. lxvi., p. 262. He adds that it means "The Great Water," the Espiritu Santo.

[3] Davila Padilla, lib. i., cap. lxiii., p. 250. Charles C. Jones, Jr., in *Hernando de Soto*, attributes to De Luna "the traces of early mining in Valley River valley [Georgia] and adjacent localities, where deep shafts passing through gneiss rock,—their sides scarred by the impression of sharp tools,—and windlasses of post-oak with cranks and gudgeon-holes, were observed—the trees growing above this old settlement and springing from the mouths and sides of these abandoned pits being not less than two hundred years old. These are to be referred to the labours of Tristan de Luna, who, in 1560, at the command of Luis de Velasco, came with three hundred Spanish soldiers into this region, and spent the summer in eager and labori-

During the prolonged absence of the major sickness

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ous search for gold." This statement is not altogether accurate, as some of the soldiers had perished on the way and fifty were occupied in war. But aside from this, Valley River is much too far to the east to have been reached by the party under the major, neither were they equipped, as far as we can know, to sink shafts through gneiss rock, nor do four and a half months (allowing sixty days to go and twelve to return) seem sufficient for such labour. Thomas, in "Cherokees as Mound Builders," *Fifth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 92, falls into the same error of taking the party into northern Georgia, where he places the mines of "Coza."

[1] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lxviii., p. 267.

[2] *Ibid.*, lib. i., cap. lxviii., p. 267.

and famine had visited the eight hundred settlers who had remained at Nanipacna with the governor, and at last, all hope of the return of the Coça party having been abandoned, the message was buried by the marked tree, the town was deserted, and the entire colony returned to the port. From here the provincial vicar, in company with the two remaining monks and a small party, had set sail for Havana,[1] leaving the unfortunate colonists at Pensacola Bay quite without spiritual guidance, from anything that appears in the story as told by Padilla. Fray Feria[2] was commissioned to relate in person to the viceroy the various happenings of the expedition, and was also bearer of a letter from De Luna to the same. Before his departure Fray Feria, still in doubt as to the death of the two monks who had accompanied the Coça party, left them a little flour in a box with which to make the Host, and some clothes, in the forlorn hope of their return to port.

The hardships endured, the absence of active occupation, the failure to receive the promised supplies,[3] were beginning to work the usual result, a spirit of discontent, stimulated, no doubt, by the escape from their enforced sufferings of those of their companions who had sailed away with the monks. For all were eager to depart except De Luna, who was determined on making a march to Coça. The arrival of the messengers from Coça added fuel to the smouldering fire, and, won over by the malcontents, headed by the camp-master, who was averse to the Coça expedition and anxious to get away, they exaggerated the difficulties of the journey and the sterility of the Coça country. The governor stormed and fumed, ordered preparations to be made for the march, threatened the delinquents with the direst penalties, and even resorted to argument, but all to no purpose, for the discontented were in the majority and De Luna was unable to execute his threats. In the meantime the camp-master stole a march upon him by secretly recalling the major, who with his detachment presented himself at the port early in November after an absence of seven months.[1] With him came the two monks, whose efforts among the natives, as far as they could know, had practically come to nothing, for only one Indian woman, who was in a dying condition, had asked for and received baptism at the hands of Fray Salaçar. These new arrivals also joined the ranks of the mutineers, while the governor, as determined as they, condemned them all to death as traitors, but could go no further, as practically the entire company was now set against him. Thus matters stood when there arrived from Mexico two vessels with supplies, sent out by the viceroy to the relief of the colony after hearing the story told by the provincial vicar.

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[1] Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. lxvii., p. 265.

[2] Subsequent to his return he was elected provincial of the Order in the chapter held Sept. 22, 1565. He was at the time suffering from an asthma which he had contracted while in Florida. His term being up, he was allowed to go to Spain on account of his ill-health. "Relacion de la Fundacion, etc., hecha año de 1569" in *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. v., p. 447. See also Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, last page.

[3] Shea, in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 259.

The dissensions were prolonged throughout the winter of 1560–1561, the continued obstinacy of De Luna increasing the sense of irritation of his opponents, and five months elapsed in these vain recriminations. In Holy Week of 1561 a reconciliation was effected by the two monks, so creditable to all concerned, when one realises the acrimony and hatred which the quarrel prolonged through the scarcity and suffering of a winter season must have engendered, that even if the account be somewhat coloured by the natural predilection of the Dominican narrator for his own Order, its insertion here will be forgiven.

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[1] Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. lxix., p. 270.

Both Frays Salaçar and Anunciacion had laboured incessantly, in the spirit of their divine Master to secure peace, but with small result. At last, on Palm Sunday, Fray Anunciacion having confessed himself and the general, the camp-master, and the army being assembled to celebrate the solemnity of so great a day, Father Anunciacion began to say mass.

"Having reached that place in the service where he was about to consume the most blessed Sacrament, he turned toward the people, with the holy Host in his hands, holding it upright above the paten. All were surprised at the novelty, waiting for what was to follow. The blessed father paused a little while, gazing devoutly at his God, his eyes shedding copious tears. In the midst of his tears, he lifted up his voice with the authority which God knows how to grant to him who serves Him, and called by his own name the Governor, who was kneeling in the place to which his rank entitled him. He rose at once and went in front of the altar, where he remained kneeling in expectation of what the blessed priest required of him. Again the blessed father paused a little, as if waiting to receive from God that which he was to say; and it was thus that God spoke through him.

"He said to the Governor, with a celestial grace: 'Do you believe that this, which I hold in my unworthy hands, is the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who came from heaven to earth to redeem us all?' The Governor answered: 'Yes, I believe it, sir.' Again the monk said: 'Do you believe that this same Lord is to come to judge the quick and the dead, and that upon the good He will bestow glory, and upon the wicked eternal suffering in hell?' He also answered: 'Yes, sir.' At this second answer the Governor began to fear greatly, and his eyes filled with tears, for of a truth God had touched his heart; then the blessed father said to him: 'If then you believe this, which every faithful Christian must believe, how is it that you are the cause of so many evils and sins, which we have suffered for five months, because you will not reconcile yourself with your captains to treat of a remedy for all this people, who for your sake have perished and are perishing, as I have often warned and implored you? If until now you have not hearkened unto men, listen to the Son of the Virgin, who speaks to you; and fear that same Son of God, who shall judge you. By this Lord, whom I hold here in my hands, I warn, I beseech and I command you, that you now do that which until now you have not wished to do, and if you do it, by command of the same Lord I promise you succour for all before three days have passed; and if you do it not, chastisement as by His hand.'

"Having thus spoken, he turned to the altar, and having finished the mass, went in and removed the sacred vestments. The Governor rose from the place he had taken at the foot of the altar when the blessed father called him, for he had remained there kneeling up to this point; and turning to the people, he said to them all with feeling and gentleness: 'Gentlemen, you have seen what Fray Domingo has done, and have heard the strange words he spoke to me. I declare that if the fault is on my side, God has never willed that I should follow it, nor be the cause of so many evils. Until now and for the future for the love of God I forgive you all, gentlemen, from the bottom of my heart, and I beg you for the love of God that you forgive me the injuries I have done you and the evil you have suffered for my sake. I know that because of my sins God has chastised you all, and so I ask you all forgiveness as the aggressor and the guilty one.' When he came to these words he could no longer contain his tears, but they burst forth with the intensity of his feeling, serving as ink, that that pardon might remain written and signed.

"Then came the Camp-Master to the feet of the Governor, prostrating himself and begging his forgiveness with many tears. The General also shed tears, acknowledging himself as guilty. Then came the remaining captains, with the feelings and expressions of true love, whose fire had ignited not only the straw, but also the wood, which the devil had already cut from the mountain of mercy. When Father Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion related this event, thirty years after its occurrence," concludes the narrator, Fray Augustin Davila

Padilla, historian of the Order in Mexico, "so fresh had he preserved those tears of the General and his captains, that the blessed old man shed them in abundance, giving thanks to God for His mercies, and moving even my heart, when I heard him."[1]

The reconciled colonists began at once to devise a remedy for their miserable condition, but so demoralised were they in body and mind, so weak, famished, naked, and sick, that they were all day Monday without coming to a conclusion. Fortunately for them succour was near at hand.

On the arrival in Mexico of Fray Feria with the ill news of the condition of the Pensacola settlement, the viceroy, evidently dissatisfied with De Luna's conduct of affairs as represented to him by the provincial vicar, commissioned Angel de Villafañe to supersede Tristan de Luna and to carry succour to the colony.[2] Four months before the incident just related Villafañe had sailed from Vera Cruz in his capacity of governor of Florida and with directions to occupy Santa Elena and trace the eastern coast.[3] To the great joy of the colonists, his fleet, which had been delayed by adverse winds, now appeared in the harbour. He was attended by Fray Gregorio de Beteta, now on his second expedition to Florida,[4] and by a number of friars who had come to convert the natives. With them came gifts for the two courageous monks, Frays Salaçar and Anunciacion, in whose hands the small quantity of flour left by the provincial vicar had not failed for the service of the mass, and for the comfort of the sick and dying through all this time,—not the least of several miraculous occurrences during De Luna's expedition. Villafañe offered to take all who chose to go with him to Santa Elena, and so universal was the desire to abandon the fateful bay, that Tristan de Luna, finding himself entirely deserted, set sail for Havana with his servants, from whence he subsequently went to Spain and requested an investigation into his conduct.[1]

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[1] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lxx., pp. 273 *et seq.* The life of Fray Domingo is given in *ibid.*, lib. ii., cap. lxxiv., p. 744. *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 40, 41, Año MDLXI.

[2] Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. lxvii., pp. 265, 266.

[3] "Déposition de Aguilar, le 10 Juillet, 1561," in *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, pp. 150–153; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 41, Año MDLXI.

[4] Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. lvii., p. 230, and cap. lxxi., p. 278.

Leaving a captain with a detachment of fifty or sixty men at Pensacola Bay under orders to return at the expiration of six months' time in case no further directions were received, Villafañe set sail for Havana with his fleet of four vessels. Besides some two hundred men he was accompanied by the monks, who, discouraged at the description given them of the uninhabited Floridian wilds, had concluded to go with him to Santa Elena. Arrived at Havana, many of the men deserted, while several of the officers refused to proceed.[2]

His next destination was Santa Elena, whither, in the early period of his settlement, De Luna had sent three vessels, which, scattered in a storm, had finally returned to Mexico and Cuba.[3] On the 27th of May, 1561, with Gonzalo Gayon as pilot, he reached Santa Elena in 33°[4]

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[1] Shea, in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., pp. 259, 260, note 2.

[2] "Relacion del Reconocimiento que hizo el Capitan General Angel de Villafañe de la Costa de la Florida, y posesion que tomó en el Rio de Santa Elena; Cavo San Roman, los Rios de Jordan y de Canoas y al Cavo nombrado Trafalgar desde 33 hasta 35 grados de altura in N." Buckingham Smith, *North America MSS., 1561–1593*, p. 22. The French translation is entitled "Déposition de Aguilar," *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, pp. 150–153. See also Shea, in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 259.

[3] Shea, in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 259, note 7.

[4] Dr. Shea (*Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol, ii., p. 260) places Santa Elena at Port Royal Sound. Juan Lopez de Velasco, *Geografia y Descripción Universal de las Indias* (1571–1574), p. 169, says that the point and fort of Santa Elena are in 32° 40′; Herrera, *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. viii., p. 15 (in his *Historia*, vol. i.), places it in 32° 30′.

latitude, ascended the river some four or five leagues, landed, and took possession in his Majesty's name. Finding no convenient harbour, nor inhabitants, nor a country suitable for a colony, he stood out to sea, and, doubling Cape Roman in 34° latitude, he again landed on the 2nd of June, reconnoitred the country, and at the distance of a league inland took possession of a great river.[1] On the 8th of June he ascended the Rio Jordan[2] for some distance in his frigates. Again unsuccessful in finding a convenient harbour, he put to sea, and as one of his vessels, the *San Juan*, had lost her anchors on the shallows of Cape Roman, he rejoined the admiral's ship and coasted along the shore, sending the treasurer, Alonzo Velasquez, to reconnoitre farther east to the Rio de las Canoas in latitude 34° 30′. The treasurer, having failed to find a port, was again sent up the coast, and on the 14th of June came upon Cape Trafalgar, in latitude 35°, now Cape Hatteras. That night the admiral's ship, being on the point of going down in a storm which struck the fleet, and the remaining vessels being in great danger, sail was made for Hispaniola, whither Villafañe arrived on the 9th of July.

Almost half a century had now elapsed since the Spaniard had first set foot upon our soil. Vigorously and boldly he had explored the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts, had pierced the forests of the east, had crossed the boundless plains of the west, had threaded the valleys of the mountain chains, but "the god of his idolatry," the El Dorado of his dreams, had not disclosed to

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The "Derrotero" of Andres Gonzales, Ecija's pilot, places the Bay of Santa Elena in 32° 30′.—Buckingham Smith, *North American MSS., 1607–1786.* Aylion's Gualdape was in 33°, see p. 166 of this volume.

[1] "Déposition de Aguilar," *Recueil de Pièces*, pp. 150 *et seq.*; Shea, in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 260, says it was the Santee.

[2] Shea, in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, p. 260, thinks it was the Pedee. Aylion's Jordan was in 33° 40′; see p. 165 in this volume. Gonzales's "Derrotero," in *ibid.*, places the Rio Jordan in 33° 30′.

him his secret abode, and he concluded that the region lay too far from the Tropic of Cancer to be gold producing; so the search for the precious metal was now abandoned in sheer desperation.

The attempts at colonisation on the Atlantic coast had miserably failed, because the soldier colonists, disdaining and ignoring all agricultural pursuits, had lived upon the sparse harvests of the natives. Nor was that all: driven to extremity by the failure of their supplies, the colonists had alienated them by stripping them of their winter stores, by compelling their enforced service, and by the exercise of those habits of harsh and brutal treatment which they had acquired in wars with the natives in other parts of the continent. And the very forces of nature had arrayed themselves on the side of the Indian. The sea and the wind and the winter seasons had battled to preserve intact the wigwam and hunting-ground of the savage. To the untrained vision of the mail-clad *caballero* the coast afforded no shelter for his armadas, and the unpeopled wastes gave no promise of agricultural returns. Small wonder then, that on the 23rd of September, Philip II. declared that no further attempt should be made to colonise the eastern coast, convinced that there was no ground for fear that the French would take possession of it.[1]

Philip was in error, as has been many a king before and since, while by a strange freak of fortune, Pedro Menéndez himself, upon whose opinion the king based his decree, was destined under the impetus of national and religious jealousies to establish Spain's first permanent foothold within what is now the territory of the

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[1] Shea, in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 260, and see "Parecer que dá á S. M. el Consijo de la Nueva España, en virtud de su Real cédula que sigue, sobre la forma en que estava la costa de la Florida, y que no convenia aumentar la Poblacion, 12 Marzo, 1562," Buckingham Smith, *North America MSS., 1561–1593*, p. 11.

United States. But before turning to the events which led up to the founding of St. Augustine, let us consider for a while what had been done in the lapse of these forty-nine years to rescue from perdition and bring into the bosom of the Church the savage denizens of this vast territory, the salvation of whose souls the temporal master of the continent had taken upon himself.

BOOK III

THE MISSIONS

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CHAPTER I

THE ROYAL PATRONAGE—THE FIRST MEXICAN MISSIONS

IN Lope de Vega's play, entitled *The New World of Columbus*, Idolatry, one of the personages of the drama, pleads against the introduction of the Spaniards and their religion into the New World in the following words:

> " Providence, do not permit them
> To work on me this injustice;
> For the greed that does possess them
> Drives them on to such performance.
> Under color of religion
> They but seek the gold and silver
> Of an undiscovered treasure." [1]

It was true enough that the Spaniards came to America intending to return home with the wealth they had acquired, " to fill up and go there to void themselves," [2] as one of their bishops tersely put it. But there is another no less important and characteristic side to the picture, in which the energy, courage, and determination of a mere handful of men of the same race show themselves in a far nobler light. They were brave, devoted, and self-sacrificing warriors, whose weapons were the Gospel of Peace, and whose greed was for the souls of the conquered that they might bestow upon them the only treasure of which they were possessed,—the gift of eternal salvation.

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[1] " El Nuevo Mundo," Jorn. i., quoted in Ticknor, *Hist. of Spanish Literature*, vol. ii., p. 265.

[2] " Henchir é ir allá a vaciar," Icazbalceta, *Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga*, p. 236. Mexico, 1881.

In reviewing the numerous cédulas, asientos, and capitulations made with the long succession of adventurers and pioneers who had sought to acquire a foothold along the Atlantic coast, one cannot fail to be impressed with the prominence given to one condition of their tenure, a condition the fulfilment of which is in many cases declared to be the chief motive of the grant, and for the enforcement of which specific details are as frequently pointed out with a care and precision that can leave no doubt as to its primary importance. It occupies the chief place in the laws enacted for the government of the new territory, in royal and official correspondence, in viceregal instructions and reports, and in innumerable requests, complaints, and suggestions addressed to the home government from secular as well as from ecclesiastical sources; the conversion of the natives of the New World to the Holy Catholic Faith. It was more than a vain aspiration, an empty formula, offered as a bribe to Divine Justice to compensate — if so it might — for an unwarranted aggression upon and ruthless conquest of millions of inoffensive Indians. It expressed the conscientious intention, the determined and persistent effort of the Crown to fulfil its part of the compact entered into by Ferdinand and Isabella with the Vicegerent of Christ in relation to the new discoveries.

When Alexander Borgia, after dividing the earth in twain, had granted its western portion to his "*carissimo in Christo filio, Ferdinando Regi, et carissimæ in Christo filiæ Elisabeth, Reginæ,*" he added:

> "Furthermore wee commaunde yowe in the vertue of holy obedience (as yowe haue promysed, and as wee doubte not you wyll doo vppon mere deuotion and princely magnanimitie) to sende to the sayde firme landes and Ilands, honeste, vertuous, and lerned men, suche as feare God, and are able to instructe th[e] inhabitauntes in the Catholyke fayth and good maners, applyinge all theyr possible diligence in the premisses."[1]

And from this the conclusion was drawn that the command conferred at the same time the faculty to nominate the missionaries and invested the Crown with the royal patronage of the Indies.[2] Whatever doubt may have existed as to its scope was set at rest in 1508 by Pope Julius II.'s specific concession of the patronage in his bull *Universalis Ecclesiæ*, a concession to which the broadest interpretation was given.[3]

In 1501 that liberal donor, Alexander VI., had already conveyed to the Crown the tithes and first-fruits of the New World in compensation for the expense and trouble which the conquest and conversion of the natives had cost; it was accompanied by the charge that the Church should be sufficiently provided for.[4] It was an extraordinary proceeding, as these tithes and first-fruits, which, some maintained, not even the Pope himself could alienate,[1] were exclusive Church property; but the duty thus imposed was conscientiously carried out, as practically all of the revenue derived from them was in the course of a few years transferred to the Church in salaries, endowments, and other forms.[2] Within what is now our own territory its first application to such purpose was in the cédula with Ayllon in 1523, referred to in a preceding chapter.[3]

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[1] Eden's translation in Fiske's *Discovery of America*, vol. ii., p. 589, Appendix B. The original bull is given in Latin in *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxxiv., p. 14, and in Ribadeneyra's *Manual Compendio de el Regio Patronato Indiano*, p. 386, Madrid, 1755, with a Spanish version appended.

[2] Ribadeneyra, *ibid.*, cap. v., p. 59; Icazbalecta, *Zumárraga*, p. 123.

[3] The bull is given in Latin and Spanish in Ribadeneyra, *Regio Patronato*, pp. 408, 409; in Latin, *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxxiv., p. 25; and see the sweeping claim put forth by Philip II., in 1574, in *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reinos de las Indias*, lib. i., tit. vi., ley 1.

[4] Bull of November 16, 1501, in Ribadeneyra, *Regio Patronato*, pp. 414, 415, and in *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxxiv., p. 22.

A recent Roman Catholic historian,[4] whose orthodoxy and good faith cannot be questioned, speaking of the extent of the royal patronage, even at this early period, says:

> "In virtue of these and other subsequent concessions, and somewhat of custom or abuse, the Kings of Spain came to acquire such power in the ecclesiastical government of America, that with the exception of what was purely spiritual, they exercised an authority that appeared pontifical. Without their permission no church, monastery, or hospital could be erected; far less a bishopric or parish. Priests and monks could not go to the Indies without express licence.[5] They nominated the bishops and sent them to administer their dioceses without awaiting the papal confirmation. They assigned bounds to the bishoprics and varied them at will. They could present or nominate to every benefice or office, even that of sacristan, if they wished. They severely reprimanded, summoned to Spain, or exiled any ecclesiastical personage including bishops. They administered and collected the tithes, determined by whom and how they should be paid without regard to bulls of ex-

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[1] Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, p. 127.

[2] See *Recopilacion*, etc., lib. i., tit. xvi. ("de los Diezmos" and the laws enacted thereunder).

[3] Book ii., chap. ii., p. 162 of this volume.

[4] Don Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta in *Zumárraga*, pp. 128, 129.

[5] *Recopilacion*, lib. i., tit. xiv., ley 13, Charles V., in 1535. Neither could priests return without a licence, *ibid.*, lib. i., tit. xiv., ley 17, Philip II., in 1562.

> emption. They fixed the salaries of the benefices and increased or diminished them as seemed convenient. They took cognizance of many ecclesiastical causes, and by recurring to force, paralysed the action of the church tribunals or prelates. In a word, not a single disposition of the Supreme Pontiff could be executed without the consent or *pase* of the King." [1]

It was certainly an extraordinary spectacle to see such absolute authority over the temporalities of the Church, not assumed by, but granted to, a secular monarch and exercised with such jealous safeguards against the grantor, an assertion of powers which can only be rightly understood by recalling the traditional attitude of Spain towards the Holy See in matters pertaining to the jurisdiction of Rome in her internal affairs, as related in a previous chapter.[2]

In furtherance of these intentions, episcopal sees had been erected in various sections of the New World, and the work of organisation had progressed. In 1511, sees were created in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo.[3] Their bishops were suffragans of the See of Seville, whose jurisdiction over the New World, until the formation of the local ecclesiastical governments and metropolitan churches, had been acquired by the sailing of Columbus from a port within its diocese accompanied by priests with faculties from its bishop.[4] These were followed, in 1522, by the creation of the episcopal See of

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[1] No bulls could pass unless examined by the king's council, Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vi., cap. xx., p. 175. And see the law of Charles V., September 6, 1538 (*Recopilacion*, lib. i., tit. ix., ley 2), and the check placed upon the obtaining of irregular grants through the Spanish ambassador at Rome (*ibid.*, ley 9); see also Herrera, *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, cap. xxviii., p. 61, and *Historia*, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vi., cap. xix., p. 172.

[2] Book ii., chap. iv., p. 96 in this volume.

[3] "Bula erigiendo las Catedrales de Cuba, Puerto Rico y Santo Domingo, August 11, 1511," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxxiv., p. 29.

[4] Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 11.

Santiago de Cuba,[1] of which diocese the Floridian Peninsula and its adjacent territory became a part.[2] Its first bishop was Fray Juan Umite. The See of Mexico dated from 1530, and included in the north-western extension of its territory Arizona and New Mexico until the creation of the See of Guadalajara in 1548, which latter embraced in its vast extent the still unknown region of what now is the State of Texas,[3] which alone Cabeça de Vaca had as yet visited.

Sore need there was of godly men to preach the new religion and to set the example of holy living; for not only had the advent of the Spaniard been attended by an influx of unprincipled adventurers of every description, coupled with the ever-present fear of the introduction of heresy in the persons of newly converted and reconciled Jews and Moors,[4] but the unnumbered millions of the conquered were plunged in the crassest idolatry, their priests and soothsayers in constant intercourse with demons and evil spirits, many of their altars horrible with the clotted blood of countless human victims, and the souls of them all condemned to eternal perdition,[5] unless a saving hand were stretched out to their rescue.

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[1] "Breve de Su Santidad, creando el Obispado de Santiago de Cuba, Abril 28, 1522," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xxxiv., p. 35. The reigning Pope was Adrian VI. The editorial note to the above states on the authority of the royal cédula of October 17, 1782, that the first episcopal seat of the island was established from 1518 in the city of La Asuncion de Baracóa, and that it was transferred in 1523 to Santiago de Cuba.

[2] *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 31, Año MDLVI.; Shea, *The Catholic Church*, etc., map on p. 16.

[3] Shea, *The Catholic Church*, etc., p. 11, and map, p. 16.

[4] "Instruccion dada por el Marqués del Valle al licenciado Nuñez sobre las cosas de Nueva España, Año de 1532," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. xiii., p. 31.

[5] Padre Anunciacion deplores the eternal death of the Indians who will die in the Napochie war, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lxv., pp. 260, 261. The Elvas narrative pities the Indians left by Moscoso in "a state of perdition," *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 42.

As early as 1526 Charles V., in the Laws of the Indies,[1] had enjoined all royal captains, officials, discoverers, and colonisers to preach the Holy Catholic Faith to the natives of the countries at which they arrived; and the execution of the law was generally provided for in the royal patents, which required that each expedition should be attended by ecclesiastics to assist in such undertaking.[2] For this reason most of the bands of adventurers who landed on the coast or penetrated into the interior of the country were accompanied by priests and monks, who endured with them all of the privations and hardships of the expedition and, as far as circumstances permitted, performed for their companions all of the rites of the Church; but their ministrations seem to have centred chiefly in attending to their own people, for whom they said mass, heard confessions, administered the sacraments to the sick and dying, and performed the last offices over the dead.[3]

Here and there the natives received what instruction could be derived from Dr. Palacios Rubios's remarkable requisition, at least when the requisition was read to them "in the best manner that they could be made to understand what was said," though it stands to reason that an interpreter was a *rara avis* in a country but just discovered, from the setting up of the crosses with their attendant ceremonies,[4] and from the "religious" accompanying the army in what little time they could devote to such an object during the temporary halts that were made. But these attempts at christianising the natives, if indeed they could be dignified by such a name, appear to have been quite without result, and conversions were conspicuous by their absence,[1] so that Davila Padilla,[2] the historian of Tristan de Luna's abortive expedition, comments on the enormous undertaking required and expense incurred to save a single soul, that of an Indian woman who was baptised when at the point of death.

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[1] *Recopilacion*, lib. i., tit. i., ley 2.

[2] See Charles V.'s cédula to Ayllon, of June 12, 1523 (bk. ii., chap. ii., p. 162 of this volume).

[3] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lxv., p. 256; *La Florida del Inca*, lib. iii., cap. xxxi., p. 159.

[4] As with De Soto (*Hak.*, vol. ii., pp. 574, 611, *et seq.*); and see Niza, Coronado, and others.

Neither could the soldiers have exercised any dominating influence beyond that of inspiring terror. De Soto's followers observed Sundays and feast-days,[3] and sometimes fasted from compunction when not from compulsion, as was the case after his death;[4] and in Arellano's army the Ave Maria was sounded on the trumpet;[5] but where the Indians did not flee before them, preferring the wild beasts of the mountains to the presence of such missioners in their midst,[6] small account was made of converting them to the true faith. Nor was the reason far to seek. Oviedo[7] graphically relates that he asked an intelligent companion of De Soto why it was that when, in the course of the expedition, they obtained Indian carriers and so many women "who were not of the least old or ugly," they did not convert or make friends with a single one of them. He replied that "they took the carrier Indians for slaves and servants, and that as for the women, they wanted them for their unclean uses and luxury, and that they baptised them rather for their lusts than to instruct them in the faith." The confession in spite of its brutality is not wanting in a kind of cynical frankness. Evidently it was not the soldier who was destined to regenerate the New World, at least in his capacity as a warrior and discoverer. Yet it was in the midst of the licence of the camp that some of the early missionaries to this country were bred;[1] soldiers who had borne the arquebuse, the lance, and the sword, and who, awakened to serious thought by some miraculous escape from peril by sea or land, had become monks in fulfilment of a vow or even from a loftier motive.

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[1] As far as I remember but three are specifically referred to, Ayllon's boy Chicora, De Soto's interpreter, and the Indian woman mentioned by Padilla. The Indians carried away as slaves appear mostly to have been baptised.

[2] *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lxv., p. 260.

[3] See bk. ii., chap. iv., p. 247 in this volume.

[4] Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 24.

[5] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lxv., p. 258.

[6] *Ibid.*, lib. i., cap. lxiii., p. 250.

[7] Oviedo, vol. i., p. 566.

Pressing appeals for spiritual instructors were addressed to the emperor by Cortés[2] and Mendoza.[3] The bishop of Mexico sent an earnest exhortation to the Mendicant Orders, particularly to the Franciscans and Dominicans, bidding them reap with him the plentiful harvest which the Lord had provided.[4] He even travelled through the various parts of Spain in poverty and in penance to impress the importance of the work upon those whom he thought the best fitted for it. Nor was the emperor less zealous in the cause. Royal commands were issued to the generals of the Orders to send "religious" to correct and instruct the natives as well as the colonists,[5] and every facility was granted by the government for the passage of monks to the Indies.[6]

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[1] Many of De Soto's companions, who escaped with Moscoso, professed religion and joined the different Orders. See *La Florida del Inca*, lib. vi., cap. xx., p. 263. Juan de Padilla, protomartyr in New Mexico, had been a fighting man, "hombre belicoso."—Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 428. Fray Bartolomé Mathéo, who was drowned in the Bay of Santa Maria in the De Luna expedition, had served the artillery under one of the Pizarros (bk. ii., chap. viii., p. 358, in this volume). On Spanish soldiers turning hermits in our own day, see Ticknor, *Hist. of Spanish Literature*, vol. ii., p. 559, note 22.

[2] Barcia, *Historiadores*, tomo i., quarta carta, fol. 154.

[3] "Deuxieme lettre," in *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 290; and also in *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. ii., p. 356.

[4] Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, p. 82.

[5] "Carta real" to the Capitulary General of the Order of St. Francis at Barcelona, April 14, 1508 (Navarrete, *Coleccion*, vol. iii., p. 535.)

[6] Herrera, vol. i., dec. 1, lib. vi., cap. xx., p. 174 (1506).

It was principally to the Mendicant Orders that the appeal for missionaries was addressed with the greatest force. The secular clergy, as in all new countries, were few in number, but little adorned with knowledge and virtue, and came over not at the command of a superior, but of their own free will, in search of a fortune or of advancements in their career to which they could not aspire in the mother country. On the other hand, the monks came at the command of their superiors, in virtue of their vows of obedience, and with no other object in view but that of converting the natives. They were protected by their vows of poverty against the temptation of cupidity, and by the vigilance of their superiors against any relaxation in discipline,[1] at least during the first period of missionary zeal.

In addition to these virtues due to their monastic vows, extraordinary powers had been conferred upon the Mendicant Orders which eminently qualified them for enterprises of this description. In 1474, by the bull *Mare Magnum*, Sixtus IV., himself a Franciscan, had conferred upon that Order the right of confessing penitents, administering the Lord's Supper, and bestowing extreme unction, as also that of burying the dead within the precincts and even in the habit of the Order. A similar bull was issued in favour of the Dominicans;[2] and in 1522, Adrian VI., with a special view to the conversion of the Indians, invested the Franciscans and other Mendicant Orders with his own apostolic authority in all matters which they judged to be necessary for the conversion of the Indians in those localities where there were no bishops, or where the bishops resided at a distance of two days' journey.[3] Even this restriction was removed by Paul III., in 1535,[1] by which the Orders became practically independent of episcopal jurisdiction.

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[1] Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, p. 110.

[2] Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes*, vol. i., pp. 44 *et seq.* Bohn ed.

[3] Bull, *Exponi nobis fecisti*, called the *Omnimoda* (Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, p. 111).

Of the three Mendicant Orders that came to the New World, the Dominicans, the Franciscans, and the Augustinians, the Dominicans were probably the first in time to preach to the natives along what is now the Atlantic coast of the United States,[2] as it was the glory of the Franciscans first to seal with the blood of martyrdom the cause of Christianity in its territory. Franciscan friars had accompanied Columbus on his second voyage,[3] and in 1523 three of their number were the first to arrive in Mexico,[4] in which country the early missions to Florida and New Mexico originated. These were followed, in 1524, by a band of twelve more, a number chosen in imitation of that of the apostles; and two years later (1526) came the Dominicans, also to the number of twelve.[5] The Old-World rivalry which had existed between the great Orders also followed them to the New World,[6] so that it became necessary to secure harmony by legislation;[7] but it in nowise impeded the zealous prosecution of their work for the salvation of souls, for the reforms brought about by Isabella and Ximenes had borne good fruit,[8] and those who came to the new fields were a devoted, self-sacrificing, patient, and energetic body of men, whose confidence in their divine mission was such that no hardship or danger could appall them, and no obstacle, however insurmountable it might seem to be, give them pause; and while the discipline which they practised may to-day provoke the smile of a less austere generation, it cannot but awaken admiration and respect for their force of character, their singleness of purpose, their heroic endurance, and their unfaltering faith.

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[1] Brief of February 15, 1535 (Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, p. 112).

[2] Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 103.

[3] Henry Charles Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, vol. i., p. 298.

[4] Lucas Alaman, *Disertaciones sobre la Historia de la República Mégicana*, tomo ii., pp. 136, 137, 172, Mégico, 1844. They had petitioned for and obtained a licence to come over as early as 1521 (Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, p. 111).

[5] Alaman, *Disertaciones*, vol. ii., p. 172.

[6] Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, pp. 75, 90.

[7] *Recopilacion*, lib. i., tit. xiv., ley 59 of Philip II., 1556, directs brotherhood and conformity to be maintained between the Orders. And see *ibid.*, tit. xv., ley 32 of Philip II., 1558, forbidding the monks of one Order to go where those of another Order had preceded them.

[8] Alaman, *Disertaciones*, vol. ii., p. 137.

Of the three religious Orders, the Franciscans soon became by far the most popular and powerful, having the greatest number of churches, and being loved by the Indians to the exclusion of the other Orders.[1] Shod only with sandals made from the fibre of the maguey, their sackcloth gowns scant and worn, they undertook long journeys, sleeping upon rush mats, their pillow a log or handful of dry grasses. In the course of time their gowns became so worn with constant use that, being unable to obtain new ones, they had them unravelled by the Indians and woven into new material; and as their founder had prescribed no particular colour to be worn, they had them dyed blue, the common dye of the country, so that they should last the longer.[2] Nor were the Dominicans behind their rivals in the practice of austerities. They underwent the ordinary discipline every night except on solemn feasts, and practised such poverty that one monk could not give another so much as a pen, or a needle and thread, or a piece of paper without permission.[3] The type of men moulded by such training is best illustrated by a few examples.

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[1] Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, p. 110.

[2] Alaman, *Disertaciones*, vol. ii., pp. 152, 169.

[3] "Relacion de la Fundacion, etc., de la Orden de predicatores, hecha año de 1569," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. v., p. 460. For the description of the habit, sandals, and wearing apparel, see Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. ii., p. 46.

Fray Domingo de Betanzos, founder of the Dominican Order in Mexico, and the close friend of the Franciscan Zumárraga, first bishop of Mexico, when on a pilgrimage to Rome, stopped at his father's door and begged for bread. His father, approaching on horseback at that moment, did not recognise his son, and, calling his servants, drove him away, observing that as he was strong enough, he should serve a master who could feed him.[1] His friend Zumárraga lived the life of a simple minor brother, and before his consecration, though titular bishop of the City of Mexico, always went on foot.[2]

Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion, who, as we have seen in the previous chapter, accompanied Tristan de Luna in his Florida expedition, where he took upon himself the thankless and dangerous office of peacemaker between Tristan and his disaffected companions, led a most exemplary life. As a lad he wore a hair shirt, and in his old age, for he died at ninety-one, he would alternate the wearing of the shirt with an iron chain when he became hardened to the one or the other, or with a rough rope which he would wrap several times around his body. He never varied his food nor changed his clothing, nor wore linen, nor went on horseback, until, at the age of seventy, he was ordered to do so. In fifty-four years he never failed to observe all of the fasts of the Order, and, like St. Dominic, was in the habit of praying in three postures, kneeling, prostrate, and extended like a cross, his face to heaven. In one of his posts he was accustomed to go eighteen leagues barefoot to confession, and in his old age, though blind and hardly able to reach the choir with the aid of his staff, he would rise at midnight to say matins.[3]

Fray Gregorio de Beteta, also an early missionary to

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[1] "Relacion de la Fundacion," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. v., pp. 455, 456.

[2] Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, p. 205.

[3] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. ii., cap. xxix., pp. 753 *et seq.*

Florida, was never known to wear a new gown during all of his stay in Mexico. He always went on foot, his cloak over his shoulder, and his breviary in his belt. In three journeys to Castile and one made to Rome he never mounted a horse, nor during all of his life spent in the Order did he eat meat.[1]

That such holy lives should command miraculous powers was to be expected, and Davila Padilla[2] relates how the Indian governor of a village had a lime-kiln, in which, after two days' fire, the limestone failed to ignite. Suspecting sorcery, he went to Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion, and declared his suspicions, naming a certain Indian, whose father had been punished for sorcery and idolatry. Summoned into the presence of Fray Domingo, the alleged sorcerer finally confessed that he had invoked the devil to possess the limestone, and showed a paper on which the spell was written, saying it was the best inheritance his father had left him. Fray Domingo, who was much addicted to the devotion of the Blessed Rosary, at once dispatched a monk to the kiln, wearing the stole, and the rosary about his neck. Removing the rosary from his neck, the monk, who was accompanied by a large party of Indians, touched it to the stone, calling upon the name of God and of His most Blessed Mother, with the result that on the following day the limestone was found to have been consumed, and the lime in proper condition.

At a festival given in the City of Mexico some noblemen had persuaded the reluctant Cortés to allow them to gamble in his palace. A table and cards were brought and the gentlemen sat themselves down to the game. But of a sudden the clouds gathered darkly, and great hailstones began to fall from the heavens. The ditches overflowed, the streets were flooded, and the waters penetrated into the houses. The people, terrified at the threatened inundation, began to call for mercy, some invoking the saints, others the most Blessed Virgin Mary, others lighting candles, and burning blessed palms. But the gamblers, secure in the solidity of Cortés's palace, closed the doors and windows, and continued their game, a game so high and daring that it could not fail to have been accompanied with oaths which outraged God. But in his convent Fray Betanzos had assembled his monks, and in earnest supplication was praying that they might not be destroyed, and elsewhere the prior of the Franciscan convent was doing the same. Suddenly there fell a bolt from heaven on the palace where the impious gamblers were assembled; the table was smashed to pieces, and the terrified nobles with their attendants were struck senseless, some dashed from their chairs, others thrown upon their knees, others again overwhelmed with tears. When order was restored and the astonished gentlemen found that not one of their number was killed, they devoutly confessed that but for the prayers and intercessions of the Blessed Fray Domingo de Betanzos they had all been lost.[1]

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[1] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. ii., cap. xxix., p. 572. He, too, died at the advanced age of ninety-one.

[2] *Ibid.*, cap. xxxi., pp. 768 *et seq.*

It is a significant commentary upon the degenerate sons of the conquerors that, within less than half a century after the conquest, the Dominican chapter held in 1559 reached the conclusion that the son of a Spaniard born in Mexico was scarcely as well fitted for the religious habit as was necessary "either because of the climate of these parts or for other reasons to us unknown,"[2] as the monks modestly confessed. A similar exclusion was also enforced by the Franciscans.[3]

When the missionaries first arrived in Mexico they gathered the natives together in the great courts of the buildings, where they naïvely spoke to them in Latin, instructing them to sign themselves with the cross and to repeat the prayers,[1] a course not unattended with a comical side to those who did not understand them, as a story related by Torquemada well illustrates. Once an old missionary, bald-headed and grey, and his companions were preaching in the midday sun to a large concourse of Indians. The native dignitaries, who were in attendance, seeing their violent gesticulations and hearing their loud voices, enquired:

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[1] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. xiii., pp. 54 *et seq.*

[2] "Relacion de la Fundacion," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. v., p. 471.

[3] Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, pp. 123, 124, and note 3. Creoles, however, could be admitted to both Orders with the permission of the provincials.

> "What is the matter with those poor fellows, that they make such a noise? Perhaps they are hungry or ill or crazy. And behold how they weep at midday and at midnight and at daybreak when all others rejoice; they must certainly be in a very bad plight, for they seek not happiness but sorrow."[2]

When it was found "that the Indians did not understand Latin," as Vetancurt observes, and that their number was such that they could not be taught the language of their conquerors, the monks bravely set themselves to the almost insurmountable task of learning the native language. Gathering the children together, they laid aside their gravity and themselves became children again, playing at straws and pebbles with them to overcome their shyness and win their love. Whenever they heard a word they thought they understood, it was noted down on the paper they constantly carried around with them, and gathering together at night they compared results. Next they shaped sentences from the words thus learned, and addressed them to the children, who in turn corrected their errors and became their instructors.[3]

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[1] Vetancurt, *Teatro Mexicano*, 4ta parte, "Crónica," p. 3.

[2] Alaman, *Disertaciones*, vol. ii., p. 147.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 148; Vetancurt, *Teatro*, 4ta parte, "Crónica," p. 3.

Thus laboriously and patiently was the native speech acquired, the more proficient taking six months, and others a year.[1] This, too, had its comical side, as was the case with Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion. In his eagerness to begin preaching to the Mexicans, he was in the habit of writing his sermons in Spanish, which were then turned into Mexican by an interpreter and memorised by the good father. The Indians were at first greatly astonished at his long discourses in their language, but soon they began to hear him preach "matters quite contrary to his disinterested and holy intentions," so the tricky interpreter was dismissed and Fray Domingo "trusted more to his own poor speech and good example."[2]

But with the learning of the language only the first obstacle had been overcome. The next step was to translate into the new medium ideas the equivalents for which were often most difficult to find, and to convey by such means the novel message of the Gospel. How much inventive genius this called for is illustrated in Venegas's[3] account of how Father Kino and his companions taught the California Indians the doctrine of the Resurrection.

> "They took some flies, and in presence of the Indians put them under water that they were thought to be dead; but on placing them among some ashes, and exposing them to the rays of the sun, the vital faculties of the flies were recovered, and soon came again to life. The Indians in a rapture of astonishment, cried out, Ibimuhueite! Ibimuhueite! These words the fathers wrote down, and making further enquiry, they applied it to import the Resurrection of Our Saviour, and

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[1] "Rel. de la Fundacion," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. v., p. 447; Vetancurt, *ibid.*, p. 3.

[2] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. ii., cap. lxxvi., p. 752.

[3] *Noticia de la California*, vol. i., p. 232. The translation is that of the London edition of 1759, vol. i., p. 208.

of the dead, being in want of a better word for explaining our mysteries to these people."

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Nor were these the only difficulties which arose, for with the rapid spread of the faith, questions of grave import and requiring the most careful and intelligent consideration constantly presented themselves. Where the Indians flocked in such multitudes to be baptised that the sacred rite had to be administered to hundreds and thousands at a time, the difficulty of giving Christian names was solved with much originality. All of those baptised on one day were named Peter, the next day John, and so on for the other Saints.[1] One very serious question, the solution of which remained for some time in doubt, was which one of a native's several wives should be considered the one to whom he was legitimately married on becoming a Christian;[2] and doubts as to the validity of the first baptisms, arising from certain technical reasons which it is unnecessary to examine, gave rise to much thought and discussion.[3]

Where the monks had settled in the midst of a native population, religious instruction soon progressed regularly; and with the aid of short catechisms especially adapted to their use, which were the earliest books to issue from the first printing-press in the New World, the Indians were soon learned in the simple rudiments of the Christian faith. But such, unfortunately, was not always the case. Sometimes the wandering friar confined himself to the erection of a cross which the natives were instructed to venerate, with the result that the natives worshipped the new symbol of their masters with the same ceremonies with which they had before worshipped their idols, or were impressed by its supposed magical efficacy. Other missionaries, lacking the patient perseverance of their comrades, soon wearied of the apparently hopeless task set before them and ended by deserting their flocks. It was against such practices as these that the venerable bishop of Chiapas had protested because "the Indians might think that the Christians were giving them in such shape an idol of their own," and had asked what sufficient knowledge they could attain of the true God in ten days of instruction.[1] And Fray Motolinia, who had himself baptised four hundred thousand Indians, after commenting in almost the identical language of Las Casas upon the want of patience of those priests who "expect to see them become as holy in the two days they labour with them, as if they had been teaching them ten years," adds with much humour, "they remind me of a man who bought a very lean sheep and gave him a piece of bread to eat and then felt his tail to see if it had fattened."[2]

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[1] Vetancurt, *Teatro Mexicano*, 4ta parte, "Crónica," p. 5.

[2] The question was finally settled by a bull of Paul III. (Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, pp. 104 *et seq.*; Alaman, *Disertaciones*, vol. ii., p. 150.)

[3] Vetancurt, *ibid.*, pp. 6, 7; Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, p. 96.

It is difficult for our more sceptical age to realise the moral as well as the physical courage of these men founded upon their implicit and unwavering faith. Single-handed and unarmed, not only did they "wrestle against flesh and blood," overthrowing the temples and destroying the idols of the swarming populations around them, but in so doing they also engaged against "principalities and powers," "the rulers of darkness in this world,"[3] the invisible and terrible demons for whose worship they were established. Yet with all of these soldierly qualities, they had succeeded in making themselves beloved of the Indians, so that the viceroy Mendoza, writing to the emperor about the country ravaged by the infamous Guzman, could say of them, that "the poor natives were well disposed to receive the friars, while they flee from us as stags fly in the forest."[1] It was from the midst of such men as these that issued the first independent missions to the country now comprised within the United States.

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[1] Las Casas, *Hist. Gen. de las Indias*, lib. iii., cap. cxvi., cited in Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, vol. iii., p. 439.

[2] Motolinia, *Hist. Trat.*, vol. ii., cap. iv., quoted in Icazbalceta, *Zumárraga*, p. 102.

[3] Ephesians vi. 12.

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[1] "Deuxième lettre," in *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 297; also in *Doc. Inedit* vol. ii., p. 356.

CHAPTER II

FRAY JUAN DE PADILLA, PROTOMARTYR, AND HIS COMPANIONS

IN the period of a little over half a century, extending from the discovery of Florida in 1513 to its final conquest and settlement in 1565 by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, but two missions unattended by the arm of the flesh ventured into the huge territory comprised between the Atlantic and the Pacific which had become known to the Spaniard through the adventures of Ayllon, De Soto, Narvaez, Coronado, and Arellano; for the incursion of Fray Marcos de Niza into New Mexico had been rather in the nature of a reconnoissance than of a mission.

This apparent neglect of the new field arose from no lack of courage or devotion on the part of the monks who had come over to evangelise the New World, and it would be a narrow and prejudiced judgment indeed that could accuse them of want of zeal or of indifference to the salvation of the countless souls within it; if the harvest was plentiful, the labourers were few and had more than sufficient work at hand for many times their number in the teeming native populations of the extensive provinces in Mexico, and in Central and South America, where the Spaniard had already secured a foothold. Yet men were not found wanting for even this arduous undertaking, men willing to remain alone and unarmed among the strange tribes of New Mexico and

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Florida, separated by pathless stretches of sea and desert from their own people, glad, nay eager, to suffer death and to be forgotten, if so be they might rescue but a few souls among these heathen from the awful doom which awaited them. And of such high purpose were the Franciscan friars who accompanied Coronado in his conquest of the seven cities of Cibola.

In 1540, subsequent to his return from New Mexico, Fray Marcos de Niza had, through the influence of Coronado himself it is said, been elected father provincial of the Franciscans,[1] for which reason the monks who accompanied the expedition were members of that Order. Besides that of the provincial, Fray Marcos, the names of two regulars[2] are mentioned, one of whom, Fray Antonio de Victoria, broke his leg at the outset and was carried back to camp when Coronado, taking all of the monks with him,[3] left Culiacan for Cibola. The other was Fray Juan de Padilla. There were also the lay brothers, Fray Juan de la Cruz,[4] Fray Luis Descalona, or Ubeda as he is called by some,[5] and Fray Daniel.[6] In their company went two oblates,[7] named, respectively,

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 420. He was the third in succession; his term expired in 1543. Vetancurt, *Teatro*, 4ta parte, "Menologio," March 25th, and p. 149.

[2] "Frailes de misa."

[3] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 424.

[4] Vetancurt, *ibid.*, p. 121, November 30th; Mota Padilla, cap. xxxiii., sec. 7, p. 167, cited by Winship, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 535.

[5] "Relacion del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 154, and Castañeda (*Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 461) call him simply "fray luis lego." Jaramillo (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 162) gives him the surname Descalona. Mota Padilla (cap. xxxiii., in *ibid.*) calls him Fray Luis de Ubeda. Vetancurt does not mention him.

[6] Mendieta (*Hist. Ecle. Ind.*, lib. v., pte. ii., cap. iii., p. 742) and Torquemada (*Monarquia*, tomo iii., p. 610, edit. 1723) say there were five "religious." See also Coronado's letter of August 3, 1540, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 556.

[7] "Donado." "Persona que ha entrado por sirviente en una orden religiosa, y asiste en ella con cierta especie de hábito religioso, pero sin

Lucas and Sebastian,[1] natives of Michoacan, who had been brought up by Fray Juan de Padilla. They had come into the hands of the monks in rather a curious way; for when the Spaniards first entered that part of the country, the two lads had been picked out to be sacrificed to them under the belief that they were cannibals. But the boys had made good their escape, and had ultimately attached themselves to the monks.[2]

Fray Juan de Padilla, who had been a fighting man in his youth,[3] and was now a regular friar of the Lesser Order,[4] had come from Andalusia to Mexico, and had been in succession the first guardian[5] of Tulanzinco and then of Tzapotla in Xalisco, where he had laboured faithfully among the natives.[6] A man of singular energy and courage, the frock of the Franciscan had not quite extinguished in him the fires of his early training, which still showed themselves in an impulsive disposition, not unmixed, perhaps, with some elements of rashness. Of his unquestioning faith and generous self-sacrifice his subsequent actions give abundant proof. He had accompanied Pedro de Tovar on his expedition to the Moqui villages, where his impatient spirit had precipitated the

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hacer profesión."—*Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana*, por la Real Academia Española.

[1] Mota Padilla, cap. xxxiii., quoted in *ibid.*; Castañeda (*Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 457) calls them "Indians from Capothan." Jaramillo (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 162) says they were from Capottan (or Capotean). Vetancurt (*Teatro*, 4^{ta} parte "Menologio," November 30th) says they had been raised by the monks. Jaramillo says they were Fray Juan's pupils.

[2] Mendieta, *Hist. Ecle. Ind.*, lib. v., pte. ii., p. 744; Torquemada, tomo iii., lib. xxi., cap. iii., p. 610.

[3] "Hombre belicoso," Castañeda, *ibid.*, p. 428, which Winship (p. 488) translates as in the text.

[4] "Frayle de misa de la orden de menores," Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 461.

[5] "Les abbés prendraient le titre de *ministres*, et les prieurs celui de *gardiens* ou *custodes*."—Marchand, *Moines et Nonnes*, vol. i., p. 185.

[6] Vetancurt, *Teatro*, 4^{ta} parte, "Menologio," November 30th, p. 121.

conflict with the natives,[1] as related in a previous chapter, and on his return therefrom he had promptly set out with Alvarado on his expedition to Tiguex.

Owing probably to the rapidity of Alvarado's movements and ignorance of the language, what religious instruction it was possible to give was confined to the setting up of crosses. An interesting account remains of the worship accorded this emblem of the new faith by the natives, by whom perhaps it was scarcely distinguished from their own symbol for the morning and evening star.

> "In the places where crosses were raised, we saw them worship these. They made offerings to these of their powder and feathers, and some left the blankets they had on. They showed so much zeal that some climbed up on the others to grasp the arms of the cross, to place feathers and flowers there; and others bringing ladders, while some held them, went up to tie strings, so as to fasten the flowers and the feathers."[2]

Fray Juan probably remained in winter quarters with Alvarado among the Tiguas, where Coronado joined them; but when, in April, 1541, Coronado set out on his wild-goose chase after Quivira, Fray Juan accompanied the expedition and planted a cross in that distant region, where his efforts were attended with such success as to encourage him to remain there.[3] He came back, however, with the army to Tiguex, but when in the following year, Coronado, dispirited by his illness and longing to rejoin his young wife, determined to abandon the country and return to Mexico, he, with the two lay brothers, Fray

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 428.

[2] "Relacion de lo que Hernando de Alvarado," etc., *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 56; Winship's translation, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 595.

[3] Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 162; "Relacion del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 154; Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 482; "Relacion Postera de Sivola," *ibid.*, p. 568; Mota Padilla, cap. xxxiii., sec. 7 *et seq.*, pp. 167 *et seq.*, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 536.

Luis Descalona and Fray Juan de la Cruz, having secured permission from the provincial,[1] begged to be left behind

> "because his teachings seemed to promise fruit there. . . . On this account, as it was Lent at the time, the father made this the subject of his sermon to the companies one Sunday, establishing his proposition on the authority of the Holy Scriptures. He declared his zeal for the conversion of these peoples and his desire to draw them to the faith"[2]

with such effect that his request was finally granted.

Fray Juan de Padilla wished to return to Quivira. Fray Luis was of an equally resolute disposition. In the attack upon Hawaikuh his gown had been pierced by an arrow,[3] so venturesome had he been in his approach upon its defenders. He wished to remain among the "flat-roofed" houses, saying

> "that he would raise crosses for those villagers with a chisel and an adze they left him, and would baptise several poor creatures who could be led, on the point of death, so as to send them to heaven, for which he did not desire any other company than that of a little slave [belonging to one of the officers of the army] called Christopher, to be his consolation and who, he said, would learn the language there quickly so as to help him, and he brought up so many things in favour of this that he could not be denied."[4]

He had more particularly selected Cicuye as his mission field. When it became known that Fray Luis was to remain behind, such was the impression he had made upon his companions as a good and holy man[1] that several Indians and negroes determined to remain with him.

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[1] Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 162.

[2] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 461; Winship's translation, *ibid.*, p. 534.

[3] Coronado's letter of August 3, 1540, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 556.

[4] Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 162. Winship's trans. in *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 592.

As Fray Juan de Padilla wished to start on his journey, the governor provided him with an escort as far as Cicuye;[2] he was furnished with everything necessary for the service of the mass, besides some small objects with which to win the good-will of the natives. His company consisted of the two oblates, Lucas and Sebastian, who went clad as friars, two more Indians who had served in the army as sacristans, a young half-blood, and a Portuguese soldier named Andreas del Campo, who at one time had been gardener to Francisco de Solis, one of the companions of Cortés. The soldier was the only member of the party who was provided with a horse;[3] some sheep, mules, and chickens were also taken along.[4] Before his departure, Fray Juan de la Cruz was installed at Tiguex. He was an old man who had been engaged in mission work among the natives of Jalisco before he joined the army,[5] and perhaps did not feel equal to the long journey which Fray Juan de Padilla had before him. Nothing definite is known of his fate beyond the bare statement that he was much respected by the caciques and other natives, but was killed by Indians who had not submitted to his influence.[6]

While the army still remained at Tiguex, the devoted little band set out with its escort for Cicuye, taking Fray

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[1] "Mui santa persona."—"Relacion del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 154, and Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 461.

[2] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 461.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 461; Mota Padilla, cap. xxxiii., secs. 7 *et seq.*, pp. 167 *et seq.* Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 162.

[4] Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 6, lib. ix., cap. xii., p. 207.

[5] Gonzaga quoted by Vetancurt, *Teatro*, 4ta parte, "Menologio," November 30th, p. 121, and Winship, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 401.

[6] Mota Padilla, cap. xxxiii., sec. 10, p. 168, quoted by Winship, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 536.

Luis Descalona along in its train. And there he, too, was abandoned, to work unobtrusively the will of his Master and win his martyr crown. His story is soon told. Fray Luis was at first gladly received by the townspeople. Before the army left Tiguex

> "some men who went to take him a number of sheep that were left for him to keep met him as he was on his way to some other villages, that were fifteen or twenty leagues from Cicuye, accompanied by some followers. He felt very hopeful that he was liked at the village and that his teachings would bear fruit, although he complained that the old men were falling away from him, and, he believed, would finally kill him."

This was the last direct communication which was had with him. He had established his cell in a hut where the Indians supplied him with *atole*, a drink prepared from Indian corn pounded to a flour and boiled in water, corn cakes, and beans.

> "I, for my part," continues Castañeda, "believe that as he was a man of good and holy life, Our Lord will protect him and give him grace to convert many of those peoples, and end his days in guiding them in the faith. We do not need to believe otherwise, for the people in those parts are pious and not at all cruel. They are friends, or rather, enemies of cruelty, and they remain faithful and loyal friends."[1]

And with this soldier's tribute to monk and Indian alike we must be content, for nothing further was ever known of him.

Leaving Fray Luis in Cicuye, Fray Juan de Padilla, attended only by a band of Pecos Indians, the escort given him by Coronado having returned to join the main army, set out with his faithful followers and the two natives who had served as guides from Quivira, to cross the great plains to his distant mission. Mota Padilla relates the end of the story:

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[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 461; Winship's translation, *ibid.*, p. 534. is here followed with a slight change.

> "He reached Quivira and prostrated himself at the foot of the cross, which he found in the same place where he had set it up; and all around it clean, as he had charged them to keep it, which rejoiced him, and then he began the duties of a teacher[1] and apostle of that people; and finding them teachable and well disposed, his heart burned within him, and it seemed to him that the number of souls of that village was but a small offering to God and he sought to enlarge the bosom of our mother, the Holy Church, that she might receive all those he was told were to be found at greater distances.[2] He left Quivira, attended by his small company, against the will of the village Indians, who loved him as their father. At more than a day's journey the Indians met him on the war-path, and knowing the evil intent of those barbarians, he asked the Portuguese, that as he was on horseback he should flee and take under his protection the oblates and the lads who could thus run away and escape, . . . and the blessed father kneeling down, offered up his life which he had sacrificed for the winning of souls to God, attaining the ardent longings of his soul, the felicity of being killed by the arrows of those barbarous Indians, who threw him into a pit, covering his body with innumerable stones. . . . It is said the Indians had gone out to murder the blessed father in order to steal the ornaments, and it was remembered that at his death were seen great prodigies, as it were the earth flooded, globes of fire, comets and obscuration of the sun."[3]

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[1] "Padre maestro."

[2] Mendieta, *Hist. Ecle. Ind.*, (lib. v., pte. ii., cap. iii., p. 743) says the Indians told him that three moons [three months] distant was a fertile and populous country.

[3] Mota Padilla, cap. xxxiii., secs. 8, 9, and 10, p. 167, quoted by Winship in *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 535. Jaramillo (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 162) says he was killed by the lay servants or the same Indians whom he took back from Tiguex. Herrera (vol. iii., dec. 6, lib. ix., cap. xii., p. 207) says, "The Indians whom Coronado took for guides from Tiguex took part in the murder." Castañeda (*Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 457)

Andreas de Campo escaped with the two oblates, Lucas and Sebastian. Recrossing the plains and following a shorter route than that traversed by the army, they ultimately came out in the province of Panuco.[1] There is some reason to think that on their way they fell into temporary captivity.[2] They were accompanied by a dog, which hunted hares and rabbits for them. The two Indian lads made themselves a cross which they piously carried by turns on their backs all the way to Colhuacan, "trusting that in such company they could not go astray." Sebastian fell ill and died soon after their return; Lucas became a missionary among the Mexicans and died of an illness during the conquest of the Chichimecas in Zacatecas.[3] Vetancurt, in his "Menologio," assigns the 30th of November as the date of the martyrdom of Fray Juan de Padilla, and the year may have been 1542.[4] The names of Fray Juan de la

says "They killed the friar because he wanted to go to the province of the Guas, who were their enemies." He adds that the Indians from New Spain who accompanied the friar were allowed to bury him. Davis (*Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 231, note) gives an extract from a MS. account of Fray Juan's death, which has a curious resemblance to that of Mota Padilla, with some additional details. It states that his companions witnessed his death from a hill.

[1] Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 457, 468; Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 6, lib. ix., cap. xii., p. 207. Winship thinks their arrival was prior to 1552.

[2] Herrera, vol. iii., dec. 6, lib. ix., cap. xii., p. 207; Gomara, cap. ccxii., in *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 529.

[3] Torquemada, vol. iii., lib. xxi., cap. iii., p. 611; Vetancurt, *Teatro*, 4^{ta} parte, "Menologio," November 30th, p. 121.

[4] Winship, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 401. Vetancurt, on the authority of Torquemada, fixes the year of Fray Juan de Padilla's death in 1539, which appears to be a mistake. Mr. F. W. Hodge, in his notes to Mrs. Edward E. Ayer's translation of Benavides's *Memorial* (in *The Land of Sunshine*, p. 288, September, October, 1900), gives it as 1544, which must be correct, according to Vetancurt's statement that "Despues de dos años procuró entrar mas adentro el P. Padilla," for Coronado set out on his homeward march in 1542.

Cruz and of Fray Luis are enrolled in a martyrology not open to human inspection.

Thus perished the first unarmed mission of the Roman Catholic Church to the country now occupied by the United States, an heroic band of martyrs, who with the courage of brave and determined men must have united a grace which won upon the simple natures of those they were seeking to save. Perhaps we may read between the lines of Fray Luis's last words, "that the old men were falling away from him," and recognise the jealousy and revenge of a priesthood which, seeing its authority gradually displaced by a mild and more merciful sway, winning from it the hearts of the younger generation, and fearful of the ultimate subversion of its rule, took the simplest and most effective means at hand to crush out its rival.

CHAPTER III

FRAY LUIS CANCER AND HIS COMPANIONS

IN the year 1547, there had been living for a while in the convent of Santo Domingo of the City of Mexico a Dominican monk of considerable learning and of exceptional courage and experience in the winning over to the faith of fierce and untractable savages. His name was Luis Cancer de Barbastro, an Aragonese, a native of the city of Saragossa.[1] Burning with zeal for the salvation of souls, Fray Luis had come from Spain to Hispaniola in the hope of finding work to his hand, but at the time of his arrival the native population was already so largely reduced in numbers by the unfortunate policy which the Spanish emigrants had pursued, that he found but little left for him to do.

From there he had gone to Puerto Rico, where he had founded a convent of his Order, of which he became the first prior, and where he had remained for several years, until for a second time the dearth of native Indians to convert again induced him to leave for Guatemala, which Alvarado had reduced to a Spanish possession. In the monastery of Santiago de Guatemala, he began the study of the native language under the famous Las Casas, "a master of declensions and conjugations in the Indian tongue,"[1] who had there established himself with his band of Dominican monks sent out from Mexico (about 1535).[2] And something more than "declensions and conjugations" must Fray Luis have learned from that fiery apostle to the Indians, something of wisdom and forbearance and love, and something of spiritual teaching too, that went beyond a mere reverence for crosses and recitation of Aves and Paters, such as was, alas! at times the only missionary equipment of his less gifted companions. How worthy he was of such a master Fray Luis was soon to show.

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[1] Remesal, *Historia General de las Indias Occidentales y particular de la Gouernacion de Chiapa y Guatemala*, lib. viii., cap. xxvi., p. 513; Davila Padilla, *Hist. de la Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. iv., p. 217.

There was at that time a still unconquered province of Guatemala called Tuzulutlan, an almost inaccessible region of dense forest, river, and mountain, inhabited by so fierce and warlike a people that three times had the Spaniards returned defeated "with their hands up to their heads,"[3] in consequence of which it had received the name of *Tierra de Guerra*, the Land of War. Such was the country which bishop Las Casas determined to conquer, not in corselet of mail and with the clash of swords, but cross in hand and having his feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of Peace. And, that he might work his will unimpeded, he began by obtaining from the governor of Guatemala the exclusion of all Spaniards from this territory for a period of five years.

It is a marvellous story, this spiritual subjugation of a fierce and untamed people, stimulated by success and envenomed with an enduring hatred of the white aggressors. Tact, skill, discretion, music, and the grace of God were the only weapons wielded by the little army of invaders. An entrance into the country was first effected (1537), and a hearing obtained from the chief by native traders who dealt in simple articles of merchandise, such as scissors, small mirrors, knives, and bells, and who had been instructed by the monks to sing religious songs in the native language. How curiously it must have impressed the natives, when this band of Christian Indians on its arrival in their midst entertained them for six consecutive days with its songs on the Creation of the World, the Fall of Man, the Incarnation of Christ, the Resurrection of Lazarus, and other events of sacred history, sung in a high key, to a lively tune, "the better to delight the ear," with an accompaniment of the native flute, tambourines, bells, and drumming to mark the time![1]

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[1] Remesal, *Hist. de Chiapa*, lib. iii., cap. vii., p. 115.

[2] *Ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. vi., p. 111.

[3] Helps, *Spanish Conquest*, vol. iii., pp. 309, 310 *et seq.*; Davila Padilla (*ibid.*, lib. i., cap. iv., p. 219) says that several "religious" had been killed there, because they were Spaniards.

Fray Luis Cancer was sent as ambassador to the cacique to obtain permission for his companions to visit the country. He carried gifts with him in order that the cacique "might read in them that which he would forget in the sermons that would be preached to him,"[2]—outward and visible signs of the spiritual benefits that would accrue to those who received these messengers of peace. Gradually, by wise management and the magnetism which brave, intelligent, and good men will always exert, the country was peacefully won over and received the name of the *Provincia de la Verapaz*, while Fray Luis, the skilful and diplomatic ambassador of the Dominicans, earned for himself the title of *Alférez de la Fé*,—the Standard-Bearer of the Faith.[3]

In 1538, Fray Luis returned with Las Casas and two other friars to Mexico, where a chapter of his Order was held on the 24th of August, in which it was determined that he should be allowed to go to Spain in company with Las Casas and Ladrada.[1] After an absence of over three years, in the course of which Fray Luis and the bishop had made a journey to Spain,[2] he returned, in 1542, to the scenes of his missionary labours in the province of La Verapaz, having procured for the delectation of his converts some Mexican Indians who knew how to sing and to play church music.[3] Here he remained for four years until, having instructed other monks in the methods which had served him so well, he began to think of spreading the Gospel in other parts, and, not knowing where to go in those provinces, he determined to go to the City of Mexico "as to a record of newly discovered countries, where having learned what need they were in of ministers he might yield to their wish and preach to them."[4]

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[1] Remesal, *Hist. de Chiapa*, lib. iii., cap. xv., p. 135.

[2] Helps, *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 322; Remesal (*ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. xv., p. 135) gives the account of the mission.

[3] Remesal, *ibid.*, lib. iv., cap. x., p. 190; Helps, *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 362.

Leaving La Verapaz, in 1546[5] we again find him in the convent of Santo Domingo in the City of Mexico, where he remained actively engaged in labours among the Mexican Indians, but with his heart ever set upon more distant and adventurous enterprises where he might again put to the proof the weapons with which he had won his first laurels. At what date the interest of Fray Luis was first aroused to bring about the pacific evangelisation of Florida, we can only surmise. If at the time of his labours in Guatemala, Floridian Indians, slaves of returned adventurers who had followed the fortunes of Alvarado, were actually to be found there, as the royal decree of 1547 would seem to imply, it is possible that his soul may have been stirred within him and his sympathies enlisted by their sorrowful stories of a faith preached by fire, sword, and rapine. However that may be, during his stay in Mexico he must have heard talk enough of the sturdy resistance and fighting qualities of the natives of the Peninsula, on the arrival of Cabeça de Vaca, and of Moscoso with his Indian slaves, and from stray survivors of treasure fleets lost upon its inhospitable shore.

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[1] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. xcviii., p. 383; Helps, *ibid.*, vol. iii., p. 338; Remesal (*ibid.*, lib. iii., cap. xviii., p. 147) says the chapter was held August 4, 1538, and that (cap. xx., p. 150) he was to go to Spain with Las Casas.

[2] Remesal, *ibid.*, lib. iv., cap. i., p. 160. He returned from Spain in 1541, and was in the City of Mexico in July.

[3] *Ibid.*, lib. iv., cap. x., p. 190.

[4] Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, lib. i., cap. liv., p. 221.

[5] Remesal (*Hist. de Chiapa*, lib. viii., cap. xvi., p. 513) says he left the province of Turulutlan, or Verapaz, "el año pasado de mil y quinientos y quarenta y seis." Davila Padilla (*Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lv., p. 222) says he was "algunos años" in the convent in Mexico before his second and last journey to Spain.

He had found a kindred soul in the Dominican friar, Gregorio de Beteta, from Salamanca,[1] who had spent many years preaching among the Zapotecas. Hearing of the many souls in Florida who lived in darkness, he, too, had been fired with zeal for their conversion, and in company with Fray Juan Garcia had started on a journey thither, misled into the belief that Florida directly adjoined Xalisco and that the way was easier by land than by sea, an interesting evidence of how vague and indefinite was the knowledge of that distant region. His attempt, which proved a failure, was repeated three or four times with equal want of success; he finally returned to Mexico, still eager for the mission.[2] And so the two zealous monks ended by making common cause. Early in 1547,[3] Fray Luis again set sail with Las Casas for Spain, where he hoped to obtain from the Crown the authority necessary for the successful prosecution of his enterprise.

Davila Padilla[4] relates a charming incident which he assigns to this voyage. The emperor Charles V. being at that time at war with France, and Francis I. having called in the assistance of the Turks, Fray Luis fell into the hands of the Infidels and was assigned to a master. While the vessel which had captured him was unloading her spoil in order to go in search of other prizes, a French gentleman of high rank drew near to see what manner of people had come in her. Observing the pious and composed bearing of the poor monk, and moved with sympathy for his captivity, the Frenchman asked him, "How does your reverence feel now?" to which the blessed father replied:

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[1] Remesal, *Hist. de Chiapa*, lib. viii., cap. xxvii., p. 515.

[2] Davila Padilla, *ibid.*, lib. ii., cap. xxix., p. 573; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 25, Año MDXLVI.

[3] Remesal, *ibid.*, lib. viii., cap. xxvi., p. 513; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 25, Año MDXLVI.

[4] *Hist. de la Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lv., p. 222.

> "I feel that the will of God is accomplished in me, and rejoice greatly thereat; for though I was on the way to treat of matters of no little importance for the salvation of many souls, to order my life according to my profession, since it is the will of God that my life be passed in captivity, my life is in His hands and so am I; may His will be done."

So edified was the worthy Frenchman by these words, that he forthwith ransomed him at what price the captain chose to put upon him, and allowed Fray Luis to proceed on his journey and embark for Spain, from which country they were but a short distance. Attractive as is the resignation with which Fray Luis accepts his fate, the story, if not apocryphal, must relate to a previous voyage, for the King of France had died early in the same year and the emperor was no longer at war with the Turk.[1]

Having landed at Seville, Fray Luis went to Valladolid, where the Court had assembled early in April, and, aided by the influence of the bishop of Chiapa, soon secured the favour of the prince, Don Felipe (later Philip II.) and of the Council of the Indies to his enterprise. The plan of the mission, determined upon in consultation with Las Casas, was that no landing should be made in any locality which the Spaniards had threatened during previous years,—"for all that land was running with blood of the Indians," says Padilla,[1]—but that some port as yet uninfected with the terror of the white man should be sought out. Fray Luis was to be attended by Floridian Indians, whom it was probably his intention to employ as traders, to gain the good-will of the natives, following the same method which had been so successful in Guatemala.[2] His request was readily granted. He was given a royal cédula[3] to procure the release of the Indian slaves who had been brought to Guatemala with the remnant of De Soto's expedition, who were to return with him to Florida, and an order was issued that he be provided with all that was necessary both for himself and the monks who were to accompany him, a free passage to his destination, and whatsoever was needful for the celebration of the mass. Taking ship at Seville Fray Luis was soon back in Mexico after a remarkably short voyage. Fray Gregorio and the viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, received him gladly, and the latter, in compliance with the royal orders, had soon fitted him out with a ship and with all that he required for his enterprise.[4]

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[1] Francis I. had died March 31, 1547. Charles V. was at the time occupied with a war against the Elector of Saxony, successfully terminated before the end of the year. See Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.*, vol. iii., p. 132, 1st edition. Remesal (*ibid.*, lib. viii., cap. xxvi., p. 513) refers to this story, saying they were French corsairs who captured him, but adds: "Caso fue, que sucedio de alli a quinze años a otro Religioso desta Prouincia, y por no saber su nõbre le atribuyeron al P. F. Luys, q̃ muy sin desgracia llegó a Seuilla."

In 1549 Fray Luis sailed from Vera Cruz in an unarmed vessel named the *Santa Maria de la Encina*, having for pilot a certain Juan de Arana, to whose ignorance or wanton disobedience of instructions the ultimate failure of the mission was largely due. Three monks accompanied him: his faithful friend, Fray Gregorio de Beteta, Fray Juan Garcia,[1] who had been Fray Gregorio's companion in his previous attempts, and Fray Diego de Tolosa,[2] a friar from the Basque provinces. The fourth member of the party was an oblate named Fuentes, a Spaniard. Failing to secure any Indians to return with him as he had hoped, the vessel touched at Havana where a native Floridian convert named Magdalena was shipped to act as interpreter,[3] though there is ground for believing that Fray Luis and Fray Gregorio had made some study of one of the Florida languages. No particular port in Florida had been fixed upon as the destination of the ship; the only restriction imposed upon the pilot, and a vital one in the plan of campaign adopted by Fray Luis, was that she should avoid all ports where Spaniards had previously landed and spread the terror of their name. How well the instructions were observed the sequel will show.

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[1] *Hist. Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lv., p. 223.

[2] "Carta al Op̃o de Chiapa" (de 1548?), Buckingham Smith, *North America MSS., 1500–1560*, p. 351.

[3] Of December 28, 1547. The cédula is given by Remesal, *ibid.*, lib. viii., cap. xxvi., p. 514.

[4] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lv., p. 224; Herrera, vol. iv., dec. 8, lib. v., cap. xiv., p. 113; *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 25, Año MDXLVIII.

On the eve of Ascension Day, the west coast of Florida was made in about 28° latitude, and on the following day a boatload of sailors reconnoitred the shore in search of a port; meeting with Indians the boat returned to the ship, which then proceeded farther north, anchoring in 28° 30′,[4] some six leagues distant from the land, on account of the shallowing of the water. This time Fray Luis and Fray Juan Garcia also joined the landing party and, in spite of the hostile demonstrations of some

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[1] "Relacion de la Florida para el Il.^{mo} Señor Visorrei de la N^{a} España la qual trajo Fr. Greg^{o} de Beteta," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 198.

[2] Otherwise called Fray Diego de Peñalosa, *Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 26, Año MDXLIX.

[3] "Relacion de la Florida," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 193.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 191, note, says A 29.

Indians, passed the night on a small island at a little distance from the mainland. After another fruitless search for a suitable harbour, they all returned aboard ship, which then sailed back to an anchorage near where they had first made land. No locality more fateful to the Spaniard, or of more unhappy omen could have been selected, had the monks but known it, for they were in the neighbourhood of Tampa Bay, thinks Dr. Shea.[1] Well might the famous legend over the gates of hell have been inscribed above its shallow waters and glittering sands. Though Fray Luis is said to have well known from description that these were the harbours which should have been avoided, and to have urged the pilot constantly to go elsewhere, anyone who has sailed along the Florida coast will recognise how impossible it is for an inexperienced person to detect the slightest variation in the interminable and monotonous stretch of low, green forest and sandy beach.

And now the pilot, Juan de Arana, himself accompanied the sailors in the boat which was sent in search of a port. With him went the two monks Fray Luis and Fray Diego, Fuentes, and the Indian woman Magdalena.[2] Entering a bay, they soon observed some fishermen's huts, but no signs of Indians. Fray Diego and the oblate Fuentes asked permission to land, and Fray Luis, who had already begun to suffer the importunities of his impetuous and less prudent companions, relaxed his usual caution and gave his consent. Fray Diego went ashore, and, following Fray Luis's instructions, climbed a tree to survey the country, whereupon one Indian after another came out of the woods until some fifteen or twenty were gathered together. Then Fuentes and Magdalena, the interpreter, followed, and lastly Fray Luis, heedless of the pilot who besought him to remain in the boat, gathered up his gown and sprang into the sea, having the water up to his belt, "and Our Lord knows what haste I made lest they should slay the monk before hearing what we were about," says Fray Luis.

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[1] Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 125.

[2] "Relacion de la Florida," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 192, 193.

"Reaching the beach I fall on my knees and prayed for grace and divine help; I ascend to the plain where I found them [the Indians] gathered and before reaching them repeated my actions of the beach, and rising from my knees begin to draw out of my leeves some articles of Flanders, which though of small account and of little value to Christians were much prized by them and highly appreciated."

Fray Luis laid great stress upon these little gifts, such as rosaries, knives, and machettes, both as the result of his former experience in Guatemala, and because, as he observes, "it is said that deeds are love, and gifts shatter rocks,"[1] and he adds elsewhere:

"I had read in the Doctors, particularly in St. Thomas, Victoria, Gaetano, and it is approved of and commended in the decretals to take to the unbelievers along with good examples, gifts *de monusculos*, which means little presents, such as these.[2] Then they approach me," he continues, "and having given away part of what I brought with me, I go to the friar, who was coming towards me, and embrace him with much joy; we both kneel down with the Spaniard [Fuentes] and the Indian woman, and drawing out my book we recite the litanies, commending ourselves to Our Lord and to His Saints. The Indians kneeled, others squatted, which greatly pleased me, and as they rose up I leave the litanies half said and sit down with them in a hut and I shortly learned where was the harbour we were in search of, which was about a day and a half's distance from there by land."

The Indians were in so friendly a mood that again Fray Luis could not deny the wish of Fray Diego, Fuentes, and Magdalena to remain ashore and reach the port by land. "Another mightier than I so ordered," he simply says.[1] He himself returned to the ship for more presents, but on again approaching the landing-place, Fray Diego and Fuentes had disappeared, and a sailor who had been lured to come ashore from the boat was suddenly set upon by some Indians and spirited away. Until sunset Fray Luis remained watching for his companions and then went sadly back to his ship. The next day Fray Luis and Fray Gregorio went again to look for them, only to find that the Indians had disappeared as well. And so returning to their ship they set sail for the harbour of which the natives had spoken, vainly hoping that their companions had preceded them there. Eight days were spent in reaching the bay and as many more in effecting an entrance.[2]

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[1] "Obras son amores y dadivas quebrantan peñas."

[2] "Relacion de la Florida," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 199.

On Corpus Christi Fray Luis and Fray Juan went ashore and said mass between them. The following day Fray Luis and Fray Gregorio, after another unsuccessful search, were about to make sail, when an Indian appeared carrying a staff in his hands, to the top of which was fastened a bunch of white palm leaves; he was followed by a second Indian, who called out in broken Spanish, "Friends, friends; good, good." Reaching the shore the Indians signalled with their hands, calling out, "Come here, come here; sword no, sword no." Fray Luis answered them in their own language, "We are good men," which they evidently understood for they shouted the same words back to them. Cautiously the two monks approached, and after receiving from the Indian the wand with the tuft of palms, they signified by signs that the three Spaniards and Magdalena should be returned to them, to which the Indians agreed.

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[1] "Relacion de la Florida," *ibid.*, p. 194.

[2] The bay was found to be some six or seven leagues in length. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

Next day all three friars returned again, and as they neared the shore the natives came down to the beach. Some of them waded out to the boat, bringing fish to trade, and one of their number by persistent begging obtained from Fray Luis a small wooden cross, which he then kissed with much reverence, and, hurrying ashore, gave it to a woman to kiss, then to the other Indians in turn, and when at last the Indians turned to leave, he bore it along in front of them, "the happiest man in the world," observes Fray Luis, and adds: "I was much struck at this and greatly rejoiced for [the sake of] the object I have in view." The Indian woman who had been the first to kiss the cross proved to be Magdalena; for Fray Luis had waded half-way inshore before he was able to recognise her, as she was naked. Then Fray Juan joined Fray Luis, and the two monks, standing waist-deep in the shallowing water, learned from her that the monk and the two Christians were in the house of the cacique; that the whole region was aroused, thinking an armada had arrived; that she had told the Indians they were but four friars, who had come to preach to them of great matters, and she added that there were some fifty or sixty Indians gathered in the place.

Full of joyous expectation of recovering Fray Diego and his companions on the morrow, the three friars returned to their ship, where they were met with the most distressing report. During their absence a Spaniard named Juan Muñoz, one of De Soto's soldiers, who had remained in captivity among the Indians, had escaped from his master and reached the ship in a canoe. He had almost forgotten his native tongue, but he managed to explain to them that the Indians had slain Fray Diego and Fuentes, for he had held the scalp of the friar in his own hands, but that the sailor was still alive. On hearing this the friars were seized with consternation, for they were indeed in a sorry plight. Not only was their ship so ill adapted for the exploration of the shallow waters of Florida that she was obliged to anchor at a great distance from land, but she was in a leaky condition. All of the meat and fish was so spoiled it had to be thrown overboard; drinking-water was giving out, and sufficient provision for a new voyage could not be found. So many of the crew were down with fever that there were scarcely enough to serve the pump, the sailors were in daily mutiny, and there were none of them willing to take the boat ashore.

It is hardly a matter of wonder that in so desperate a strait Frays Gregorio and Juan should have declared to Fray Luis that they would go ashore the next day as agreed upon with the Indians, to seek further confirmation of the murder of the Christians, and that in the event of their companions not appearing, they would order the ship to return or to sail to other parts; for even before the reported killing of Fray Diego the monks had concluded to go back either to Havana or Mexico for another ship and then to seek some other part of Florida, a plan to which Fray Luis had most unwillingly given his consent. But now the aspect of affairs had changed, his companions were dead or in immediate danger of death for his sake; in his mind the path of duty lay plainly before him, and the brave soul of the monk who on their first arrival had held his peace, because he had been accused of terrorising the sailors with his fears,[1] cast prudence to the winds, believing that the moment had come to dare all things for the cause which God had placed in his charge. And so he replied that he was convinced that work could not be done without the spilling of blood, and since his companions had died there, there also he wished to remain; there he expected to gather most fruit from his labours, and to win over the Indians with the presents he had brought with him. In vain Fray Gregorio and Fray Juan sought to turn him from his purpose: with the conviction of one who felt that his life was in the hands of a Higher Power than his, he remained firm in his resolution.

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[1] "Relacion de la Florida," *ibid.*, p. 192. During the early part of the expedition (June 3rd) there had been some friction between the monks. "Req^{tos} i Vespuestas que pasaron en la Nao S^{ta} Maria de la Encina de que era Capitan, Piloto i Maestre Juanes de Arana, en q ivan los 4 Rilig^{os} a la Florida." Buckingham Smith, *North America MSS., 1500–1560*, p. 353. It also appears from the letter of Fray Juan Garcia that a question had arisen as to the landing-place and the disposition to be made of the objects the monks carried with them as gifts for the Indians. "Carta de Fray Juan Garcia, Febro., Lunes, 3, 1549," in the A. M. Brooks *Manuscripts relating to the History of Florida.*

Monday, St. John's Day, he spent writing letters, adding perhaps the introduction and the final paragraphs to that portion of the account from which the preceding pages of this chapter are chiefly drawn, and arranging what objects he intended to take with him. Tuesday, an attempt to land was frustrated by a storm in which Juan Muñoz, himself so strangely rescued from the hands of the savages, saw the interposition of God. But not so the intrepid and devoted monk, for on Wednesday, June 26th, in spite of tempestuous weather, the boat was brought to shore by dint of hard rowing. At the approach of the boat some Indians posted in the trees, which the monks interpreted as a bad sign, ran to a neighbouring hillock where other Indians were assembled. As the boat drew nearer, the monks called out to them, but not one of their number came down into the open; all the while they could be seen moving about with their bows and arrows, their clubs and darts in full sight.

Undeterred by these hostile demonstrations and the entreaties of Fray Gregorio, Fray Luis began his preparations to land. Then the Indians called out: "Is the slave there?" Juan Muñoz stood up in the boat and said: "I am he whom you seek; do you think to kill us as you have killed the others? You will not kill us, because we know what you have done." At this they seemed to be confused, and Fray Luis said to him: " Be silent, Brother; do not provoke them." And Fray Gregorio said to him: " No people in the world could be more enraged than they are. For the love of God wait a little; do not land." But he would not hearken, and throwing himself into the water, for the boat was distant but the shot of an arquebuse from the hillock, soon reached land. Having forgotten a small cross in the boat, he called for it from the shore, and Fray Gregorio said, " Father, for mercy's sake, will not your Reverence come for it, as there is no one here who will take it to you, for these people are a very evil lot." Then he went along the beach toward the hillock where the Indians were, the boat following, at which the Indians began to recede. Fray Luis, perceiving it, bade the boat withdraw in order not to excite them.

As he neared the hillock, he threw himself upon his knees; in a few moments he arose and approached the hillock. An Indian came and embraced him, then taking him by the arm he urged him forward with some haste. A second Indian followed him, and then others, who pushed him to the foot of the hill. One of them seized his hat and snatched it from his head, and another struck him on the head with a club[1] and knocked him down. " We were very near, so that we saw and heard very distinctly what they said," adds Fray Gregorio; " then he gave a scream, ' Hay vala,' but they did not let him finish, and so many rushed upon him that they made an end of him there." The Indians next turned their attention to the boat, attacking it with a shower of arrows, but the crew contrived to escape and regain the ship not without fear of being pursued by the savages in their canoes.

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[1] " Vnos rezios maderos que usan para de cerca, a la hechura de maças de armas, y las llaman ellos Macanas."—Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lvi., p. 226.

Unwilling to remain any longer in those parts, Fray Gregorio urged the pilot to conduct them elsewhere on the Florida coast, but he said the ship was unfit for a new voyage, and so, on Friday, June 28th, they set sail for Havana. On the 2nd of July, acting on the advice of the pilot, her course was changed for Mexico, and after some beating about, she finally made the port of San Juan de Ulloa on the 19th of July, 1549.

Thus perished in the unflinching fulfilment of his duty a noble, brave, and highly gifted man, who was unusually well equipped for the task he had undertaken. Had he found in the captain of his vessel an intelligent coadjutor, one could hardly doubt of his eventual success and the bloodless conquest of another province for Castile and Leon. Disastrous as was the result to all human seeming, Fray Luis is a figure of exceptional interest to us as a worthy disciple of the great Las Casas, whose methods of winning souls, so antagonistic to the spirit of the age, he had faithfully followed. And yet, in the face of his achievement in Guatemala, the cost of this expedition and the loss of lives it entailed became another of the charges reckoned up against the Dominican Las Casas,[1] and that by so great a person as Fray Tobrino Motolinia, one of the founders of the Franciscan Order in Mexico, whose wise comments on the right preaching of the Gospel to the natives have been recorded in a preceding chapter.

Fray Luis falls as the dew from heaven upon the blood-stained soil of Florida, virtually the only messenger of peace sent by the Church to the denizens of that unhappy peninsula from the day of its discovery to that of its final settlement by the Spaniard. Davila Padilla[1] concludes the relation of his death within the following summary of the recognition which his self-sacrifice received:

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[1] "Carta de Fray Tobrino Motolinia à el Emperador Carlos V. contra Fray Bartolomé de las Casas," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 69. Dr. Gines de Sepulveda also ridiculed his attempt to convert Florida with mere words, which drew from Las Casas in reply a defence of Fray Luis. Remesal (lib. viii., cap. xxvii., p. 517) gives its main points. In justice to Motolinia it must be admitted that Fray Vincente de las Casas, writing to the bishop of Chiapa on March 25, 1550, says: "Murió el P. Fr. Luis por su indiscrecion, i no se si fue temer^{d}, porque," etc. "Carta de Fr. V^{te} de las Casas a Fr. B^{me} Opo de Chiapa" in Buckingham Smith, *North America MSS., 1500–1560*, p. 352.

> "A martyr he is counted in the *History of Fray Juan de la Crus;* a martyr he is counted in the *Tryumph of Martyrs*, which was arranged by Fray Thomas Castellar, and which was printed in Rome with the approval and commendation of that holy city. A martyr he is held by the holy Bishop of Chiapa, Don Fray Bartolome de Las Casas or Casaus, who loudly calls him Holy Fray Luis, and Blessed Fray Luis."

And shall we deny him a like tribute?

In spite of Gomara's sneering remark that the two surviving friars "preferred to preserve themselves to hear confessions,"[2] Fray Gregorio de Beteta made still a third effort to establish himself in Florida, renouncing the bishopric of Carthagena in order to accompany Angel de Villafañe, when in 1561 he sailed to the relief of Tristan de Luna's abortive settlement; but he was again doomed to disappointment, for Villafañe returned with nothing accomplished beyond an exploration of the eastern coast. Fray Gregorio died at the ripe old age of ninety-one.[3]

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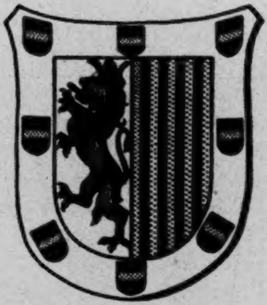
[1] *Hist. Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lvii., p. 228.

[2] Gomara, liv. ii., chap. 10, p. 58, Fumée's trans.

[3] Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lxxi., p. 278.



ARMS OF THE FAMILY OF PONCE DE LEON, FROM THE TITLE-PAGE OF THE "CRONICO DE LA EXCELENTISSIMA CASA DE LOS PONÇES DE LEON," TOLEDO, 1620.

APPENDIX A

METALS KNOWN TO THE INDIANS

Copper.—In Lemoyne's *Brevis Narratio*, p. 19, Francoforti ad Moenvm, MDXCI., the author says: "Misit ille Rex ad me laminam ex ære è montibus illis (montes Apalatcy) eruto" ("That King sent me a plate of copper dug from those mountains"). Cabeça de Vaca ("Naufragios," cap. xxix., p. 31, in Barcia, *Historiadores*, tomo i.), mentions a copper bell received from the Indians in Central Texas. Coronado (in Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 444) obtained a copper plate from the Indians in Quivira.

Silver.—Silver ore (?), *metal escogido reluciente*, was used by Pueblo Indians to glaze their pottery jars, says Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 445, 455. What may have been a silver ore was used by California Indians to paint their faces (Vizcaino, in Venegas, vol. ii., pp. 271–272, London, 1759).

Gold.—"There can be no doubt that the Indians (of Georgia) also possessed gold in the form of nuggets found probably in Dahlonega neighbourhood after the rains," says George F. Becker in "Reconnaissance of the Gold Fields of the Southern Appalachians," *Sixteenth Ann. Rept. U. S. Geol. Surv.*, p. 9. The Indian method of extracting gold is described in "A notable historie" (*Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 486), and is illustrated by De Bry, Tab. XLI.

Antimony.—Cabeça de Vaca (*ibid.*, cap. xxix., p. 32) mentions antimony ore, "alcohol," in Central Texas, where the Indians used it as a face pigment. It is found in the prehistoric Florida mounds. C. B. Moore, "Certain Sand

Mounds of the St. John's River, Florida," *Jour. Acad. of Nat. Sciences*, vol. x., pp. 213–241, Philadelphia.

MARCASITE.—Cabeça de Vaca (*ibid.*, cap. xxix., p. 32) mentions marcasite—*margagita*—used as a face pigment (?) by the Texas Indians.

APPENDIX B

POPULATION

EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI.—Fontanedo ("Mémoire" in *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, p. 22) states that in Florida Carlos governed fifty villages, averaging thirty to forty inhabitants each (p. 14), say from one thousand five hundred to two thousand souls. He also says that the east side was the most populous. Gatschet, in *A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, vol. i., p. 197, says: "The statistic dates of the Creek population given before B. Hawkins's time are mere estimates," and adds that in 1732 Governor Oglethorpe reports thirteen hundred warriors in eight towns of the Lower Creeks (Schoolcraft, v., 263, 278), and in 1791 all the Creek "gun men" were estimated to number between five thousand and six thousand; the same number is given for these in 1832 (Schoolcraft, v., 262 *et seq.*; vi., 333), living in fifty-two towns, the whole population being between twenty-five thousand and thirty thousand. In the same year the Choctaw population was conjectured to amount to eighteen thousand.

Theodore Roosevelt, in *The Winning of the West*, vol. i., p. 51, after citing the letter of Commissioners Hawkins, Pickins, Martin, and McIntosh to the President of the Continental Congress, Dec. 2, 1785 (*Senate Doc.*, Thirty-third Congress, Second Session, Boundary between Georgia and Florida), which gives fourteen thousand "gun men" in all for the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, refers to Prof. Benj. Smith Barton's (*Origin of the Tribes and Nations of America*, Philadelphia, 1798). Barton's estimate of Appalachian nations in 1793 is in all thirteen thousand warriors, which, says Roosevelt, considered as one fifth of the total population, makes sixty-five thousand, and is "probably

. . . . nearly correct" (p. 52). Dayton's account, Sept. 23, 1775 (*Am. Archives*, vol. iii., p. 790, 4th Series), gives a carefully made Cherokee census of 2021 warriors. Roosevelt himself estimates the "south-western (south-eastern?) Indians," or Appalachians, which included the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, at "perhaps seventy thousand souls" in 1775. In his notes he gives a number of tribal estimates of about the same period. The Cherokees are estimated at twelve thousand. Bancroft (*History of the United States*, vol. iii., p. 253) says: "Of the Mobilian confederacies and tribes,—that is, of the Chickasaws, Chocktaws, and Muskhogees,—fifty thousand; of the Uchees, one thousand; of the Natchez four thousand"; *i. e.*, fifty-five thousand. Mr. Bancroft estimates there were 180,000 souls of Indians east of the Mississippi River about 1720. This estimate of Mr. Bancroft is approved by L. H. Morgan, "Indian Migrations," in the *Indian Miscellany*, Albany, 1877.

Nomadic Indians.—The estimate of the Pawnees in 1719 at twenty-five thousand, attributed to Mr. Dutisné, is viewed with suspicion by Mr. Dunbar in "The Pawnee Indians," *Mag. Am. Hist.*, vol. iv., p. 254. Benavides, in his "Memorial" (Dr. Shea's translation, *Bul. New York Pub. Lib.*, vol. iii., p. 490), estimates the Apaches in 1620 at two hundred thousand. Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 175) discredits this estimate as enormously exaggerated, but believes the proportion then as now, of three to one, as between Navajos and Apaches, to be true.

Pueblos.—Castañeda, in 1540–1542 (2ª pte., cap. vi., p. 454, Intro., 2ª p.te, pp. 446–447, in *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*), estimates twenty thousand men in the seventy villages mentioned by him on the Rio Grande and the Pecos. Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 121) says of Castañeda's language: "The original has indeed 'veinte mil hombres': but this evidently means, not men, but inhabitants, as the term 'hombre' is also used in Spanish." Lewis H. Morgan ("Indian Migrations," in *Indian Miscellany*, p. 190) says Castañeda's estimate would give about fifty thousand village Indians.

Mr. Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 120, and note, and p. 121), commenting on Castañeda's statement, estimates that the aggregate population of the Pueblos in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not exceed twenty-five thousand souls. The largest number of pueblos enumerated is that given by Oñate in 1604 (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. xvi., pp. 108–117), who mentions over one hundred. The villages were small, with from two hundred to eight hundred or one thousand in the largest (Castañeda, *ibid.*), and the average population did not exceed one hundred souls (p. 136). He says that the average proportion of adult males to the total number of people among village Indians (south-west) does not exceed one to three and three fourths (p. 47 and note). He adds that Benavides's estimate of the population of the New Mexican pueblos at seventy thousand, made in 1630 ("Memorial," p. 32, in *Bul. New York Pub. Lib.*, vol. iii., pp. 422, 426, 428), was exaggerated in order to induce the King to favour the missions after their frequent quarrels with the governors of New Mexico (*Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 121, and note); and Charles F. Lummis, in the introductory note to Mrs. Edward E. Ayer's translation of Benavides's "Memorial" (in *The Land of Sunshine*, p. 277, September–October, 1900), says: "60% is none too large a rebate for his figures, which were of necessity mere guesses" (see also the further notes by the editor, *ibid.*, p. 290).

Espejo's estimate (*Relacion del Viaje*, pp. 179, 185) Bandelier considers unreliable, as he was misled (*Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 121, and note). Espejo's date is 1582. "If we sum up the number of souls attributed to them by him, we arrive at about a quarter of a million." Vetancurt's (*Teatro*, 4ta parte, "Cronica," p. 99), in 1660, is the earliest actual census. He says: "Pues el año de 1660 se hizó padron general, en que se hallaron mas de veinte y cuatro mil personas, chicas y grandes, Indios y españoles." There were about one thousand Spaniards in all New Mexico, adds Mr. Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 121, and note). Fray Francesco Garces (*Doc. Hist. Mexico*, vol. i., p. 350, 2nd Series) estimates the Arizona population in 1775 at twenty-five thousand (*Final Rept.*, Pt. I., p. 112). The number of the Apaches was not known (*ibid.*, p. 175). See similar estimate in Garces's *Diary* (Coues), vol. i., p. 443. Oñate, in 1604, states that the population on the eastern bank alone of the Gila was not less than twenty thousand souls (H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 156).

SUMMARY.—Rev. J. D. Morse (*Smithsonian Report*, Pt. II., p. 884, July, 1885) estimates, in 1822, Arizona and New Mexico excepted, total Southern Indians east of Mississippi, less the Cherokees, 54,122; tribes between Red River and Rio del Norte, 45,000.

The *Smithsonian Report*, Pt. V., p. 883, July, 1885 (the George Catlin Indian Gallery), says that at the date of European settlement the Indian population of the present area of the United States has been estimated as low as one million.

Perhaps we may sum up somewhat after this fashion:

TRIBES	AUTHORITY	ESTIMATED BY	DATE	
Californians........	....	Major Powell	...	Densest of U.S. ?
Pueblos............	Castañeda	Bandelier	1540	25,000
Arizona	Fr. Garces	"	1775	25,000
Lower Florida	Fontanedo	....	1540 (?)	2,000
Muskhogees........	....	Roosevelt	1775	[1] 58,000
Yuchees and Natchez	....	G. Bancroft	1775	5,000
Wandering Tribes..	....	J. D. Morse	1822	45,000
				160,000

APPENDIX C

THE DISCOVERY OF FLORIDA BY COLUMBUS

In the *New York Herald* of Sunday, March 4, 1894, an attempt is made to assign the original discovery and settlement of Florida to Christopher Columbus on his second voyage in 1493. The article chiefly consists of purely gratuitous assumptions concerning questions which have never even been in dispute. The story centres around the "sugar mill" of Dr. Nicolas Turnbull's settlement of Minorcan colonists made in 1763 at New Smyrna, near Mosquito Inlet, Florida. A Rev. M. Ball, who is quoted by the anonymous letter-writer, surmises that during Columbus's extended second expedition, "certainly the seventeen vessels in this flotilla did not keep together during the three years' voyaging, and it is but reasonable to presume that some of them sailed north as well as others south, and that Florida, so near to the West Indies, and most likely concluded to be an island, was sighted during this expedition." The letter-writer proceeds to suggest that one of Columbus's return voyagers, who had visited Mosquito Inlet, brought Ponce de Leon the news of the neighbouring "Blue Spring," the fountain of perpetual youth,—or that Ponce himself may have been one of these voyagers, who, on his return in 1513 to revisit the spring, made a mistake of just one degree. And the old "sugar mill" is supposed to be a ruined chapel belonging to this settlement.

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[1] Less 12,000 Cherokees.

In *The Churchman* for August 25, 1894, W. F. Dix pursues the subject under the heading "A Story in Stone," without any additional information other than the interesting discovery that Columbus's second voyage was made in 1496, and that two of his vessels sailed northward. This elicited a conclusive refutation of the Sugar-Mill-Columbus-Chapel theory from the pen of the well-known historian of Florida, Mr. G. R. Fairbanks, in *The Churchman* for November 3, 1894, in which he shows it to be a part of the Minorcan ruins. It seems hardly necessary to state that the finished stonework of the mill as it appears in the photographs could hardly be that of men who allowed the leaky chapel referred to in a previous chapter to endure for so long. Comparatively few were the stone buildings at first erected, the usual material being a kind of concrete. With respect to the second voyage of Columbus, "which occupied three years," says the Rev. Ball, the following data are of interest: Of the seventeen ships which left Palos September 25, 1493, twelve sailed back for Spain from Hispaniola on February 2, 1494. April 24th Columbus sailed westerly with three of his ships, leaving the two larger behind in port; on his return four out of the five ships were destroyed in port by a storm. With the remaining ship and another which he repaired he set sail for Spain, March 10, 1496, the date assigned by Mr. Dix for his second voyage (Winsor, *Christopher Columbus*, pp. 282, 291, 321, 323).

As for Ponce de Leon, it is, to say the least, remarkable that he should have learned the story of the fountain of youth in Puerto Rico or Hayti, when, ten years before, he had made a settlement or a landing within twenty miles of the place he was seeking; it is equally remarkable that, having been in Florida, he should have been ignorant of its Indian name,—Cautio,—and should have applied in his patent for the island of Bimini; that, running down close to the coast to avoid the current, taking water at the river De la Cruz and doubling Cape Canaveral, he should have overlooked the familiar inlet; that Fontanedo should have failed to mention the existence of a Spanish settlement with a chapel of hewn stone, and that the French colonists living within sixty-five or seventy miles of it should not have known of it and spoken of it.

APPENDIX D

THE DISCOVERY OF FLORIDA BY CABOT

The Hon. Charles Levi Woodbury, in a letter to the author, dated Boston, February 11, 1892, says: "I have yet to find any evidence which sustains Cabot's statement of his (Cabot's) running down the coast. He must have been north of sixty degrees when he turned, and the latitude of Gibraltar Straits is about thirty-four degrees. To hit the coast in the longitude of Cuba required over twenty degrees of westing, also some easting. So it would take somewhere about 2180 sea miles' sailing to reach that point, and the voyage thence home to Bristol a little over 3200 miles. I mean to have the distance accurately computed. Now Henry VII.'s account book, dated August 12th, says: 'gave £10 to the man who discovered a new island.' Cabot states that the ice stopped him in July.

Assume he arrived home August 6th, at Bristol, and if you allow to him all of July, he will have thirty-six days in which to accomplish a sailing distance of 5380 miles or more, which would be a little more than 147 miles a day, or over six knots an hour, besides which to make up all loss by deviation, contrary winds, and stoppages, a rate of speed absolutely incredible for such a voyage and in vessels of the time." I suppose Mr. Woodbury assumes sixty degrees to have been reached on the authority of Gomara's statement, "Es cierte que a sesenta grados son los dias de diez y ocho horas."

APPENDIX E

INDIAN CHARTS

A recent discussion of the Cantino map will be found in Winsor, *Christopher Columbus*, pp. 417–421. That the Indians were not without some vague ideas of cartography appears from the following instances: Columbus on his fourth voyage kept as guide an Indian who "could draw a sort of chart of the coast" (Winsor's *Columbus*, p. 442). Alarcon in his voyage up the Colorado in 1540 had a kind of map drawn for him by an Indian (*Voyage de Cibola*, p. 345). In 1603 Indians drew a rude plan of the St. Lawrence River for Champlain (Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, p. 242, Boston, 1893). Gosnold, in 1602, was boarded off the New England coast by an Indian who drew a chart for him with a piece of chalk. ("The Relation of Captain Gosnold's Voyage," etc., delivered by Gabriel Archer, *Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vol. viii., p. 73, 3d. Ser). And see maps drawn by native Esquimos in *Sixth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 643 *et seq.* That the coast Indians made extended sea voyages, see Brinton, *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 101, and F. A. Ober, "Aborigines of the West Indies," *Scientific American*, Supplement for November 10, 1894. Other early maps showing Florida are: *Tabula Terre Nove*, or the Admiral's map, Ptolemy, 1513, engraved by Waldseemüller, perhaps as early as 1507, and probably based

on the original of the Cantino map, given in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii. p. 112; Ruysch's map of 1508, *ibid.*, p. 115; and Stobnicza's map of 1512, *ibid.*, p. 116.

APPENDIX F

CAPITULACION CON JUAN PONCE DE LEON SOBRE EL DESCUBRIMIENTO DE LA ISLA DE BENINY ("DOCUMENTOS INÉDITOS DEL ARCHIVO DE INDIAS," VOL. XXII., P. 26)—AÑO DE 1512

Por quanto vos Juan Ponce de Leon, Me embiastes a suplicar e pedir por merced, vos diese licencia y facultad para ir a descubrir y poblar las Islas de Beniny, con ciértas condiciones que adelante seran declaradas, por ende, por vos hacer merced, vos doy licencia y facultad para que podais ir á descubrir y poblar la dicha Isla, con tanto que no sea de las que hasta ahora estan descubiertas, y con las condiciones y segun que adelante será contenido en esta guissa.

Primeramente, que podais con los navios que quisierdes llevar á vuestra costa y minsion, ir á descubrir y descubrais la dicha Isla, y para ello tengais tres años de termino que se cuenten desde el dia que vos fuese presentada esta Mi capitulacion ó se tomase el asiento con vos sobre la dicha poblacion, con tanto que seais obligado para la ir á descubrir dentro del primer año de los dichos tres años, é que á la ida podais tocar en qualesquier islas é tierra firme del mar Occeano, así descubiertas como por descubrir, con tanto que no sean de las Islas é tierra firme del mar Occeano que pertenecen al Serenísimo Rey de Portugal, Nuestro muy caro y muy amado Hijo, y entiendese aquellos que tuvieren dentro de los limites que entre Nos y el estan señalados, ni dellas ni de algunas dellas podais tomar ni haber intereses ni otra cosa alguna, salvo solamente las cosas que para vuestro mantenimiento, y provision de navios y gente que ovierdes menester, pagando por ellos lo que valiesen.

Item, que podais tomar y se tomen por vuestra parte en estos Reynos de Castilla ó en la dicha Isla Española para lo susodicho, los navios, mantenimientos y oficiales y marineros y gente que ovierdes menester, pagándoles todo segun se acostumbra, y siendo á vista en las Islas Españolas de Nuestros oficiales que al presente residen y residiesen en Nuestra casa de la Contratacion della, y en Castilla á vista de los Nuestros oficiales que residen y residiesen en la Nuestra casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla.

Item, por vos hacer merced, Mando que durante el tiempo de los tres años, no pueda yr ni vaya ninguna persona á descubrir la dicha Isla de Beniny, y si alguno fuese á descubrir ó por acertamiento la descubriese, se cumpla con vos lo en esta Mi capitulacion contenido, y no con la persona que ansi la descubriese; é que por la descubrir otro, no perdais vos nada del derecho que á ella teneis, con tanto que como dicho es os hagais á la vela para la ir á descubrir dentro del dicho primer año, é que de otra manera no valga y con tanto que no sea de las que se tienen ya noticias y sabiduria cierta.

Item, que hallando y descubriendo la dicha Isla en la manera que dicho es, vos hago merced de la governacion y justicia della por todos los dias de vuestra vida, y para ello vos doy poder cumplido y jurisdiccion civil y criminal con todos sus incidencias y dependencias, anexidades y conexidades.

Item, que hallando la dicha Isla segun dicho es, seais obligado á poblar á vuestra costa, en los lugares y asientos que mejor lo podais hacer, é que gozeis de las casas é estancias y poblaciones y heredades que allí hizierdes, y del provecho que en la dicha Isla oviese, conforme á lo contenido en este asiento.

Item, que si fortalezas se oviesen de hazer en la dicha Isla, hayan de ser y sean á Nuestra costa é pongamos en ellas Nuestros Alcaides, como más viésemos que á Nuestro servicio cumple; y si entre tanto que se hazen las dichas fortalezas, vos ficierdes alguna casa é casas de morada, é para defension de los indios, que estas sean vuestras y proprias y si dellas hubiese necesidad para Nuestro servicio, las hayais de dar pagando lo que valiesen.

Item, que vos haré merced y por la presente vos la hago, por tiempo de doce años, contados desde el dia que descubrierdes la dicha Isla de Beniny, del diezmo de todas las rentas é provechos que á Nos pertenecen en la dicha Isla, no siendo de los diezmos de Nuestra granjeria ó en otra qualquier manera.

Item, que el repartimiento de los indios que oviese en la dicha Isla, se haga por la persona ó personas que por Mi fuesen nombradas y no de otro manera.

Item, que Yo mandaré y por la presente Mando, que los indios que huviese en la dicha Isla, se repartan segun las personas que oviese, y que primero se cumpla y sean proveidos los primeros descubridores que otras personas algunas, é que á estos se haga en ello toda la ventaja que buenamente hubiere lugar.

Item, que Yo hago merced por tiempo de los dichos diez años que gozan las personas que fuesen á descubrir la dicha Isla y poblasen de aquel viaje, del oro, é otros metales é cosas de provecho que en la dicha Isla oviese, sin Nos pagar dellos más derechos ni diezmos el primer año é el segundo el noveno, y el tercero el octavo, y el cuarto el sétimo y el quinto año la sesta parte, y los otros cinco años venideros pagando el quinto, segun é por la forma é manera que agora se paga en la Isla Española; é que los otros pobladores que despues fuesen, que no sean de los descubridores pagasen desde el primer año el quinto, porque á estos Yo les mandase dar otra franqueza de otras cosas que no sea del oro.

Item, por hacer más bien y merced á vos el dicho Juan Ponce de Leon, es Mi merced y voluntad que todas las Yslas que estuviesen comarcanas á la dicha Ysla de Beniny que vos descubriesedes por vuestra persona y á vuestra costa y minsion, en la forma susodicha, y no siendo de las que se tiene noticia como dicho es, tengais la gobernacion y poblacion dellas, con las condiciones é segun que en esta Mi capitulacion se contiene, é como por virtud della la habeis de tener de la dicha Yala.

Item, que vos hago merced del titulo de Nuestro Adelantado de las dichas Yslas é de las otras que en la forma susodicha descubrieredes.

Item, que coja el oro si lo hubiese en la misma forma que en la de Española se coje agora, ó por la forma y manera que Yo mandaré.

Item, que no podais llevar en vuestra compañia para lo susodicho, persona ni personas algunas que sean estrangeros de fuera de Nuestros Reynos y Señorios.

Item, que para seguridad que vos el dicho Juan Ponce é las personas que con vos fueren, hareis y cumplireis é pagareis y será cumplido y pagado é guardado lo en esta capitulacion contenido que á vos pertenece guardar y cumplir, antes que fagais el dicho viaje deis fianzas llanas y abonadas á contentamiento de los Nuestros oficiales que residen en la Ysla Española.

Item, que vos el dicho Juan Ponce é las otras personas que con vos fueren é alli estuvierdes, hareis y guardareis é pagareis todo lo contenido en esta dicha Mi capitulacion y cada cosa y parte dello, y no hareis fraude ni engaño alguno, ni dareis favor ni ayuda ni consentimiento para ello, é si lo supierdes, lo notificareis á Nos é á Nuestros oficiales en Nuestro nombre, so pena que vosotros qualesquier personas que lo contrario hicieredes por el mismo fecho el que asi no lo cumpliere haya perdido qualquier merced ó oficio que de Nos tuviere é pague por su persona é bienes todas las penas que Nos por bien tubiereremos de mandar ejecutar en sus personas y bienes de aquellos que lo hicieren, consintieren ó encubriesen.

Item, que despues de allegados á la Ysla y sabido lo que en ella hay, Me embieis relacion de ello, é otra a los Nuestros oficiales que residen en la Isla Española, para que Nos sepamos lo que se oviese fecho, é se provea lo que mas á Nuestro servicio cumpla.

Por ende, cumpliendo vos el dicho Juan Ponce todo lo que dicho es y cada cosa y parte dello, e dadas las dichas fianzas ó quedando y pagando las cosas susodichas, vos prometo y aseguro por la presente, de mandar guardar é cumplir todo lo en esta capitulacion contenido é cada cosa y parte dello, é Mando á los Nuestros oficiales que residen en la Isla Española, que en Nuestro nombre, conforme á lo susodicho, tuviesen con vos el dicho asiento y capitulacion é reciban las dichas fianzas: é

para vuestro despacho Mando á Don Diego Colon, Nuestro Almirante y Governador de la dicha Isla Española, é á los Nuestros jueces de apelacion, é á los oficiales de Nuestra hazienda que residen en ella y á todas las justicias de la dicha Isla Española, que vos den todo el favor é ayuda que ovierdes menester, sin que en ello ni en cosa alguna ni parte dello se vos ponga ningun impedimento.

Fecha en Burgos á veinte y tres de Febrero de mil quinientos é doce años. Yo EL REY. Por mandado de Su Alteza, Lope Conchillos. Señalada del Obispo de Palencia.

APPENDIX G

THE BAY OF JUAN PONCE

I can find no sufficient authority for Dr. Shea's statement in his "Ancient Florida" (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 233), that Juan Ponce de Leon, on his second voyage "ran up the western shore of Florida to a bay in 27° 30′, which for centuries after bore the name of Juan Ponce." I strongly suspect that the bay so named on the early maps is intended to indicate the bay where in his second voyage he received his death-wound.

What evidence is there in his first voyage of a bay in 27° 30′? Our sole authority for Ponce's course is Herrera, who appears to have had the original report before him. After describing the Martyr islands, which he says were in 26° 15′, he continues (vol. i., dec. 1, lib. ix., cap. x., p. 247, 2nd col.): "Fueron navegando, vnas veces al Norte, i otras al Nordeste, hasta los veinte i tres de Maio, i á los veinte i quatro corrieron por la Costa, al Sur (no hechando de vèr, que era Tierra-firme) hasta vnas Isletas, que se hacian fuera à la Mar," where Ponce careened his ship and heard the report of the cacique Carlos and his gold. He then appears to have moved to a harbour near at hand, which he had previously sounded. After vainly waiting for the gold promised by the cacique, he set sail on his return voyage. Such is Herrera's entire account of the western coast of Florida. Neither Oviedo nor Gomara is even as definite as Herrera, and the cédulas give no information.

What evidence do the maps give us? An examination of the maps in the *Kohl Collection* at the United States State Department gives the following results: The names of bays and rivers are given in the order in which they occur on the maps proceeding north from Cape Sable, the "punta de Muspa" of Velasco, along the west coast. The numbers are those of the collection as arranged by Mr. Justin Winsor for the State Department.

No 38. 1527. "America," by Hernando Colon. 1. An unnamed bay. 2. An unnamed bay at the head of which is the legend "R. de la paz." 3. An unnamed bay at the head of which is the legend "R. de canoas." 4. "b. de Juan Ponce." It is the first bay south of what may be Appalachee Bay, and is the only bay on the west coast having a name.

No. 41. 1529. "Ribero." 1 and 2. Unnamed bays. 3. "B. de Juan Ponce" at the head of which is the legend "R. de Canoas." North of it, 4, 5, and 6 are unnamed bays.

No. 42. 1529. "Ribero." 1. "B. de Juan Ponce" with a legend at the head of it "R. de canoas." North of it 2 and 3 are unnamed bays.

No. 251. 1536. "Mexico." French map. 1. "Baye de Joh. Ponce." North of it 2 and 3 are deep unnamed bays.

1544. The "Cabot Map" (in *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 352). 1. The bay formed by the south-western point of Florida. 2. Rio de la Paz. 3. Rio de Canoas. 4. Baya de Juan Ponce (distant from the southern point of Florida about three fifths of the length of the coast).

✓ No. 253. 1547. "Map of New Spain," by Nicolaus Vallard of Dieppe. 1. A bay. 2. "b. de ponce leon." 3, 4, 5, and 6 are bays north of it.

No. 255. 1555 (about). "French map." 1, 2, and 3 are unnamed bays. 4. "B. de Jhan Ponce." 5, 6, 7, etc., are six or seven unnamed bays to the north of it. It is difficult to determine if these are bays or simply the wavy filling in of the cartographer's fancy.

No. 257. 1558. "Mexico," by Diego Homen. 1 and 2 (?)

are bays. 3. "B. de Joan Ponce." 4 is a deep, unnamed bay. 5. "B. honda." 6. "B. de las islas."

No. 185. 1565. "Map of Florida," by Le Moyne. 1 and 2 are unnamed bays. 3. "Sinus Ioannis Ponce" with a large river flowing directly north from the head of it. 4, 5, 6, etc., are five unnamed bays.

(1571–1574. Velasco's *Geografía* cited *post.* 1 (?). "bahaia de Juan Ponce." 2, 3, and 4 are the bays to the north of it.)

No. 264. 1597. "Florida," by Wytfliet. 1. A bay with the legend "R. de Canoas." 2. "G. de Juan Ponce." 3. "B. de S. Spirito," then no more bays until 4, "Ancon de Baxa," which appears to be Appalachee Bay.

No. 201. 1621. "Americæ Septentrionalis Pars." From the *West-Indische Paskaert.* Anthony Iacobsz, Amsterdam. 1. "B. de Juan Ponte." 2. "B. de Carlos."

No. 267. 1630. "Map of Florida," by Dudley. 1. "B. de Tortugas." 2. "B. del Fume." 3. "Costa di G. Ponte." 4. "R. di G. Ponte." 5. "C. di G. Ponte." 6, 7, and 8, etc., are five or six bays to the north of it.

Thus we have twelve maps covering a little over a century in which three (1529, Ribero [No. 42]; 1536, French map; and 1621, Iacobsz) make it the first bay; three maps (1544, Cabot; 1547, Vallard; and 1597, Wytfliet) make it the second bay; three maps (1529, Ribero [No. 41]; 1558, Homen; and 1565, Le Moyne) make it the third bay. Two maps (1527, Colon, and 1555, French map) make it the fourth bay, and one (1630, Dudley) extends the name along the coast without naming any bay. I think that in view of such wide differences, even among map-makers of the same nationality, no conclusion can be arrived at from the maps. Brinton, in his *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 113, note 2, does not mention the name of Juan Ponce among the various names assigned to Tampa Bay.

What is the evidence of Bernal Diaz? Dr. Shea states in his notes to his "Ancient Florida, in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 283, that "as early as 1519 the statement is found that the bay of Juan Ponce had been visited by Alaminos, while accompanying Ponce de Leon, which must refer to this expedition of 1513." For this he cites the authority of Bernal Diaz.

As Bernal Diaz del Castillo began the writing of his history in 1569 (*Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 414), fifty years later, Dr. Shea's statement is not quite correct; what he intended to say was: As early as 1569, the statement is found that in 1519 Alaminos said he had visited the Bay of Ponce de Leon in his company, which must refer to this expedition of 1513. Bernal Diaz's account (*Historia Verdadera*, tomo i., cap. vi., p. 31, Paris, 1837), is: "Llegados que fuimos á tierra cerca de un estero que entraba en la mar, el Piloto (who was Antonio de Alaminos) reconoció la costa, y dixo que habia diez ó doce años que habia estado en aquel parage quando vino con Juan Ponce de Leon á descubrir aquellas tierras, y allí le habian dado guerra los Indios de aquella tierra, y que les habian muerto muchos soldados." That is all that is said upon the subject.

Now Cordova's expedition about which Diaz is writing was in 1517, four years after Ponce de Leon's first voyage and four years prior to Ponce's second attempt in 1521. Consequently either Diaz in his recollection, or Alaminos in his statement, was mistaken by a matter of six or eight years. In the next place there is absolutely no mention in Herrera of anyone being killed by the Indians during the entire first expedition, except one man who died of his wounds received on the west coast of Florida. While on his second voyage (Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 3, lib. i., cap. xiv., p. 24) some of his people were killed and Ponce himself was wounded. It would thus seem that Diaz had confused the two voyages at the date of his writing. On page 34 he says that on leaving "dimos vela para la Habana, y pasamos aquel dia y la noche que hizo buen tiempo junto de unas isletas, que llaman los Mártires, que son unos baxos," etc., which would indicate that the place from which they set sail was not far from the southern end of the peninsula.

What, then, is the bay indicated on the maps? Oviedo (vol. ii., p. 144), describing the Florida coast, says: "È aveis de notar mas: que desde aquel Ancon Baxo la tierra se torna háçia la parte de Mediodia, y se corren çient leguas al Sueste hasta la punta del Aguada (Cape Sable), la qual está en veynte é seys grados desta parte de la línea equinoçial, menos un quarto: . . . y está aquella bahía de Johan Ponçe en veynte é siete grados, poco mas ó menos desta, parte de la equinoçial. Mas al Sur está el rio de las Canoas, y mas al Sur el rio de la Paz, y mas al Sur está la dicha Aguada, donde se cumplen las çient leguas que dixe de susso." This contemporary evidence Oviedo gives on the authority of the cosmographer Chaves, as it seems, or perhaps on that of Ponce himself, since he says that he knew him well and conversed with him. (See p. 132 in this volume.) His history was published from 1535 to 1555. He makes no mention of the bay of Carlos.

Juan López de Velasco in his *Geografía y Descripción Universal de las Indias*, 1571–1574, Madrid, 1894, in the section "Hidrografía y Descripción de la Costa de la Florida," pp. 162 *et seq.*, after describing the "bahia del Espíritu Santo: donde comienza la gobernación de la Florida, en 29 grados de altura," and that of "Tocobaga" or "Miruelo" in 29½, and Tampa, 33 leagues distant, next names the bay of Carlos, 12 leagues along the coast (p. 164): "La bahaía de Carlos, que en lengua de indios llaman *Escampaba*, por un cacique de este nombre . . . parece ser la mesma que dicen de Juan Ponce, por que desembarcó en ella año de 15 donde perdió su gente y le hirieron los indios, de que murió, está en 26 grados y ½ largos: . . . pásase con canoas, desde allá hasta el brazo de mar que va hácia Tampa, por algunos caños que hay entre una mar y otra. Desde Carlos á la punta de Muspa, que estará en 25 grados y ½, habra como doce ó trece leguas. . . . Pasada la punta de Muspa vuelve la costa, haciendo ensenada al leste, como dos leguas, desde donde vuelve luégo la costa norte sur hasta los Mártires," etc. It is evident from the context that reference is made to Ponce's last voyage in 1521, although the wrong date is given.

Finally Herrera in his "Descripción de las Indias Occidentales" (in his *Historia*, tomo i., cap. viii., p. 15), says: "i al Norte de la Punta de los Martires la Muspa, en Tierra-Firme :

i mas al Norte 13 leguas, la Baía de Carlos, por otro nombre, de Juan Ponce de Leon: i otro tanto mas adelante la Baía de Tampa," etc.

Brinton, in his *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 112, says the southwest extremity of the peninsula was occupied by the Caloosa tribe, a name corrupted by the French into Calos and Callos, by the Spaniards into Carlos, still preserved in the Seminole appellation of Sanybal, Carlosa-hatchie and Caloosa-hatchie, and corrupted by the English into Charlotte Harbour. It is in 26° 40′. Carlos was a native word and is translated by Fontanedo, in *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, p. 13, "village cruel." Gatschet, on the map in *Migration Legend*, vol. i., opposite page 48, also locates the Kalusa at the same place.

What additional evidence does Herrera give to identify Carlos Bay with that of Ponce de Leon? A probability, nothing more. In the account of the first voyage it appears that Ponce anchored in the neighbourhood of the cacique Carlos, heard that he had gold, and waited several days for some to be brought to him. It is further noticeable that this is the only locality throughout the entire voyage where he is reported to have heard of gold. It was also the last harbour which he visited after turning south before he sailed for home. Herrera's account of the second and last voyage is very brief and without other detail than that Ponce was wounded in a muscle, and some of his people being killed by the Indians he returned to Cuba with the remainder. It seems to me a plausible and perhaps a natural inference that the locality last visited by Ponce on his first voyage as indicated by Herrera, was Carlos Bay, the Charlotte Harbour of to-day, or its immediate neighbourhood, and that on his second voyage he returned to the same harbour, it being the only place where he had heard of gold.

If Bernal Diaz is susceptible of any interpretation, it is possible that Antonio de Alaminos accompanied Ponce on his second voyage as well as on his first, and he may at some much later period have told Diaz that the bay where Cordova had stopped was the same one where Ponce's people were slain. Here again the maps, unfortunately, are of no service, for Carlos Bay wanders up and down the Peninsula, sometimes in company with that of Ponce de Leon, and sometimes without it.

APPENDIX H

AYLLON'S LAST VOYAGE

THE LANDFALL.—There is but little conflict between the early accounts as to the locality of Ayllon's landfall on his third and last voyage. Oviedo, a contemporary of Ayllon, who began the publication of his *Historia General* in 1535, and may have added to it down to 1555 (*Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 343), states positively on information received from Fray Antonio Montesinos, Lieutenant Francisco Gomez, and the pilot Quexos (*Prohemio*, vol. iii. p. 627), companions of Ayllon on this third and last expedition, that the landfall was "en un rio que le llaman rio Jordan, que está más al Oriente de la provinçia de la Florida, en la mesma costa de la Tierra-Firme, çiento é çinquenta leguas, poco más ó menos: la boca del qual rio está en treynta é tres grados é dos terçios desta parte de la linia equinoçial, á la banda de nuestro polo ártico" (*ibid.*, vol. iii., pp. 627–628).

Herrera, who published his first four decades in 1601 (*Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 67), says: "Llegó a la punta de Santa Elena, cien leguas mas al Norte de la Florida, adonde estaba un Pueblo, que por llamar le Orizta, le dixeron Chicora, porque los Castellanos nunca repararon en corromper poco los vocablos, i á otro Lugar, que tambien estaba alli, que se decia Gualé, llamaron Gualdápe; i en esta parte se halla el Rio Jordán," etc. (Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 3, lib. vii., cap. viii., pp. 241, 242).

The geographer Lopez de Velasco, whose *Geografía* was compiled 1571–1574, says, "La punta y fuerte de Santa Elena está en 32 grados y ¼ de altura luenga" (p. 169), while he makes but a very brief and vague reference to Ayllon in the following words: "Capituló año de 23, y habiendo descubierto ciertas carabelas suyas que era tierra continente y buena, no parece haber entrado en ella, ni haber hecho cosa alguna" (p. 158).

The notary Francisco de Aguilar, who accompanied Angel de Villafañe's expedition in 1561, testifies (*Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, p. 150): "Ledit gouverneur entra avec une frégate dans la rivière de Sainte-Hélène et pénétra jusqu'à 33 degrés."

Dr. Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 240) accepts Navarrete's conclusion (Navarrete, *Coleccion*, vol. iii., pp. 69–74): "They reached the coast not at the San Juan Bautista, but at another river, at 33° 40′, to which they gave the name of Jordan."

SAN MIGUEL DE GUALDAPE.—The conflict of opinion arises as to the direction in which Ayllon went from his landing-place and the locality in which he established his settlement of San Miguel. The first hint which we have in point of time is in the report of Biedma, royal factor of the De Soto expediion, which he presented to the Council of the Indies in 1544, according to a note of Muñoz (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 64). When, in the spring of 1540, De Soto was at Cufitatchiqui, a locality generally identified with Silverbluff, on the Savannah River, about twenty-five miles south of the present site of Augusta, an identification resting on tradition and discussion of the narrative irrespective of the Ayllon controversy, Biedma mentions "con la noticia que tuvimos de los Indios estaria de alli la mar asta treinta leguas, supimos que la gente que fue con Aillon no entro casi nada la tierra adentro, sino siempre estuvieron a la costa de la mar fasta que á dolecio i murio Aillon" (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 52).

Both the "Gentleman of Elvas" (*Hak.*, vol. ii., p. 581) and Garcilaso's informants (*La Florida del Inca*, lib. iii., cap. xviii., p. 137) thought they were on the river of Santa Elena, and in the neighbourhood of the port where Ayllon died, although they were not certain of it, and do not mention hearing it from the Indians, as Biedma does. This was but fourteen years after Ayllon's death.

The next notice is the story told by Oviedo. Continuing his account of the expedition, he says: "Despues que estovieron alli (*i. e.*, the landing-place in 33° 40′) algunos dias, . . . acordaron de yrse á poblar la costa adelante háçia la costa occidental, é fueron á un grand rio (quarenta ó quarenta é çinco leguas de allí, pocas más ó menos) que se diçe Gualdape: é allí assentaron su campo," etc. (p. 628), and in chapter iii., p. 630, he again says: "La tierra de Gualdape, é tambien dende el rio de Sanct Elena abaxo al Occidente, es toda tierra llana." He adds (p. 628): "porque aquella tierra, donde pararon, está en treynta é tres grados para arriba."

The statements of Biedma and Oviedo are quite consistent, for if Ayllon landed in the neighbourhood of Cape Fear, there is a stretch of twenty-five or thirty miles of ocean coast due west from the Cape Fear River, and travelling forty or forty-five leagues—one hundred and four to one hundred and seventeen miles—more or less, keeping near the shore and at last finding himself in the 33d degree, Ayllon would encounter the Pedee, the distance in a direct line from Southport on the Cape Fear River to Georgetown on the Pedee being over eighty miles. And when there he would be about one hundred and sixty miles, as the crow flies, from Silverbluff, where Biedma was.

The Ecija relation (Buckingham Smith, *North America MSS., 1607–1786*, in the possession of the New York Historical Society) is entitled: "Relacion mui circunstanciada del Viage hecho por el Capitan Fran^{co} Fernandez de Ecija al reconocimiento de la Costa del Norte de las Provincias de la florida por mandado del Governador de ellas Pedro de Ybarra, desde su salida del Puerto de Sⁿ Agustin en 21 de Junio de 1609, hasta 24 de Septiembre siguiente que se restituyó á él, haviendo reconocido hasta el altura de 37 grados y medio que hallaron poblados á los Yngleses."

Ecija set sail on his second expedition from St. Augustine Monday, June 22, 1609. On July 8th he entered the "Rio Jordán," which the "Derrotero" of his pilot, Andres Gonzales, locates in 33° 30′. There he learned from an Indian named Alonzo "que él habia partido de su Pueblo que habra cuatro ú cinco leguas desde el Jordán la vuelta del Norte, y que de alli habia salido y ido á un Pueblo que se llama Daxe, . . .

quatro dias de camino, y dixo que en el dho Pueblo de Daxe habia tenido noticia como cerca de alli en un Pueblo que se llama Guandape en un Rio que vá a salir á la mar estavan poblados los Yngleses en una Ysla cercada de agua, que de una banda se sirue con la tierra firme, . . . cerca del agua de la mar, . . . cerca de la Barra."

July 19th he reached the "Cabo de Trafalgar" in 35° ("Derrotero"), and Sunday, the 19th, "montamos el Cabo de Engaño, y habiendole montado descubrimos una ensenada que hacia el dho Cabo de la Vand del Nordeste donde llegamos y dimos fondo, y estubimos hasta el Lunes de la mañana 20." On this day he discovered a "Barra," where he understood the English to be, but a reconnoissance revealed nothing. Proceeding on his voyage, he reached, on the 24th, "la Bahia del Jacán," in 37° ("Derrotero" of Gonzales says, "Bahia de la Madre de Dios, que es la del Jacán"), where a vessel of unknown nationality was seen in the bay. Observing smoke signals in the direction where the English "Presidio" was supposed to be, he consulted with his officers and in view of the rumour of an approaching hostile fleet of seven vessels, the lateness of the season, and the condition of his own ship, concluded to return. On the 26th he turned south. On the 21st of August, he was again in the Rio Jordán, where, on going to the town of the Indian, Alonzo, his brother confirmed the information and distances previously given, and which Alonzo's brother had received from other Indians, "y en esto mandó el dho Capitan al Piloto sacase la Carta y tomando el tanteo y punto se echo de ver que . . . habrá desde el dho Jordán á la poblacion por camino derecho por tierra 50 leguas poco mas, y desde el dho Jordán 100 á S. Agustin por razon de haber desde el Jordán al Pueblo de Daxe quatro dias de camino, y desde Daxe á Guandape dia y medio, que es donde están los Yngleses."

On the 28th he entered the bay of Cayagua in 32° 50′ ("33 grados menos un sexmo," "Derrotero"), where he found an Indian who told him "que el habia ido á un Pueblo que se llama Daxe, y que alli habia oido á los naturales de aquel Pueblo que cerca de alli estaba una Poblacion de Yngleses mas adelante á la vanda del Norte segun señaló, y deste dicho Pueblo de Daxe al de los Yngleses iba un Rio por donde se comunicaban los Yndios con los Yngleses." On September 24, 1609, he finally reached St. Augustine. The relation further informs us that Ecija's previous expedition in 1605 had extended as far as the "Cabo de San Roman," in 34° 10′ ("34 grados y un sexmo," "Derrotero"). It thus appears that Ecija based his statement as to the location of the English settlement on the hearsay evidence of Indians who had not gone to Guandape.

Dr. Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 285) writes: "Herrera (vol. ii., lib. xxi., caps. 8 and 9) says he (Ayllon) attempted to colonise north of Cape Trafalgar (Hatteras); and the *piloto mayor* of Floridá, Ecija, who, at a later day, in 1609, was sent to find out what the English were doing, says positively that Ayllon had fixed his settlement at Guandape . . . where the English in the next century founded Jamestown." Although I found no mention of Ayllon in the Ecija relation in the Buckingham Smith Collection, it is but fair to suppose that Dr. Shea may have had a different copy under his eyes.

Finally, Navarrete, in *Coleccion*, vol. iii., p. 72, says Ayllon went forty or fifty leagues to the north, which he thinks (in note, p. 72) may be near Cape Lookout.

It is evident that the statement concerning Ayllon attributed by Dr. Shea to Ecija is absolutely irreconcilable with that of Oviedo; the Ayllon settlement, according to Dr. Shea, being at least two hundred and sixty miles to the north of the landing-place instead of one hundred and four to one hundred and seventeen miles to the west and south, according to Oviedo; and Dr. Shea's location places it over four hundred miles from Silverbluff, so that Biedma could hardly have obtained from the Indians about him the details which he gives.

Conclusion.—Biedma's report was made but fourteen years after the Ayllon attempt, and but four years after the incident which he relates; Oviedo's from ten to thirty-five years after Ayllon's adventure, and is related on the authority of eye-witnesses of the highest credibility, with whom he was personally acquainted and from whom he directly obtained his information.

Ecija's statement is made eighty-three years later on the authority of a knowledge which he is presumed to have had; "since by his office Ecija must have had in his possession the early charts of his people, and must have made the locality a special study." Dr. Shea in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii. p. 285, adds: "His assertion has far greater weight than that of any historian writing in Spain merely from documents." But it may well be asked from what source did Ecija derive his knowledge of the locality of Ayllon's settlement, if not also from documents.

It is interesting to note in this respect that Oviedo (vol. iii., pp. 624–633) says of the settlement that "it is not laid down on any map," and that Velasco, *Cosmógrafo-Cronista de las Indias*, from 1571 to 1591, some thirty years prior to Ecija and who we may presume "by his office" and work "must have had in his possession the early charts of his people," dismisses Ayllon with no reference whatever to his landfall or settlement.

Dr. Kohl (in *Maine Hist. Soc.*, vol. i., p. 303, 2nd series), says Ayllon explored as far north as latitude 38°, "a little above Chesapeake Bay (Baia de Santa Maria)." In *ibid.*, pp. 394–401, he considers Ayllon's expedition in connection with the Ribero map of 1529, a copy of which is given in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., pp. 221, 242, and on which is the legend, "Tierra de Ayllon."

The Hernando Colon map of 1527 (No. 38 of the *Kohl Collection*) shows on the north-east Atlantic coast: "tierra del licenciado ayllon."

Mr. James Mooney has identified three out of the nineteen names of provinces mentioned in the cédula of June 12, 1523, and given by Oviedo, in vol. iii., p. 628. These are *Yta*—Ytaua?—Etiwaw or Etiwan. *Orixa*—Orista—Audusta—Edisto. *Yamiscaron*—Yamasiree. *Tivecoçayo* may consist of an Indian word *tive* and *coçayo*; for the *coçayo* compare Cusso and Cussabo. He informs me that Mr. Gatschet thinks *Chicora*—Yuchee? These were South Carolina tribes; see J. Mooney, "The Siouan Tribes of the East," *Bulletin Bur. Eth.*, 1894.

APPENDIX I

THE POMPEY STONE

Squier ("Aboriginal Monuments," *Smithsonian Contributions*, vol. ii., p. 171) attributes the Pompey Stone to "Ponce de Leon, Narvaez, or some other Spanish adventurer;" Fernow ("New Netherlands," *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. iv., p. 429) to "some of Ayllon's exploring parties." Shea (*The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 107) says "the stone found at Pompey, N. Y., may be a relic of Ayllon," and (in *Antiquities of New York*, pp. 39-40) he attributes it to "Ponce de Leon, Narvaez, or some other Spanish adventurers."

I am disposed to believe that the tree and entwined serpent are of Indian origin. Garrick Mallery (in "Picture Writing of the American Indians," *Tenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 377), after quoting the statement of Baqueville de la Potherie that the tribal designation of the Senecas and Onondagas was a spider, thinks "this was doubtless a branching tree so badly drawn as to be mistaken for a spider." Mr. James Hall, in a letter to me dated March 14, 1894, Office of State Geologist, Albany, New York, says of the stone: "The specimen is a boulder of hornblendic gneiss, which has undoubtedly been transported by glacial or water action from the crystalline rocks of northern New York to the place where it was found." This may indicate that the inscription was cut upon the rock in the locality where it was found.

APPENDIX J

THE LANDING-PLACE OF NARVAEZ

Fairbanks (*Hist. Florida*, p. 31) selects Clear Water Bay, just north of Tampa on the authority of Buckingham Smith's notes to *The Letter of De Soto*, 1854. Davis (*The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 20), Buckingham Smith (*Rel.*, p. 58, note and p. 234, also in the 1851 edition), and H. H.

Bancroft (*North Am. States*, vol. i., p. 60), select Tampa Bay. Dr. Shea (*The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 108, and in "Ancient Florida," in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 43), and Winship (*Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 346) select Appalachee Bay. Prince (*Hist. of New Mexico*, pp. 89–91, 2nd edit.) thinks it was probably Charlotte Harbour, and the large bay discovered on Easter Monday (*ibid.*, p. 28) was Tampa Bay. Barcia (*Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 10, Año MDXXVII., and fol. 308, Año MDCXCIII.) fixes on Pensacola Bay.

The Cabot map (Jomard's *Ancient Charts*, and also in Buckingham Smith's 1st edit. of 1851), the map of New Spain by Nicolaus Vallard of Dieppe (No. 253, *Kohl Col.*), and the De Bry map appear to indicate Appalachee Bay. The French map of Mexico of 1536 (No. 251, *Kohl Col.*) has the legend: "Aqui de S°bar con el gobernador," supposed by Dr. Kohl to be Narvaez. The Hernando Colon map of 1527 (No. 38, *Kohl Col.*) has to the north-west of the peninsula of Florida the legend: "Tierra q̄ aora va a poblar panfilo de narbaes."

Narvaez kept near the shore and met the first river after fifteen days' march (caps. iv. and v.), the country traversed between Appalachee and the landing-place being level, the ground of sand and stiff earth with lakes all the way (cap. vii.). From Pensacola Bay east is a network of small rivers until the first large river, the Choctawatchee, is met with, which flows into a large bay, whereas Cabeça says they found no harbour at the mouth of the first river (cap. v.). From Tampa north there is a remarkable absence of rivers until the Withlacoochee, the first large river which has no harbour, is met. Cabeça says they went in one day's journey from the bay where they landed to the north (or north-east, Oviedo), reaching at the hour of vespers "a very large bay that stretched inland" (cap. iv.). Charlotte Harbour is not less than fifty miles south of Tampa, too far for one day's travel, and a line due north of the mouth of the harbour runs some ten miles east of the extreme east arm of Tampa Bay. The De Soto narrative clearly indicates that Narvaez re-embarked at Appalachee Bay. Clear Water Bay best fills all the requirements of the relation. Probably the landing was farther down the peninsula, and a day's journey north would carry the party to the "very large bay" of Old Tampa. For the different names of Tampa Bay see Brinton's *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 113.

APPENDIX K

LOS CORAZONES

Bandelier (*Contributions*, pp. 64, 65) locates "Los Corazones," the "Town of Hearts" not far from the village of Batuco in the vicinity of "Matape" thirty leagues from the Yaqui in Sonora.

In "Coronado's March to Quivira" (in J. V. Brower, *Memoirs of Explorations in the Basin of the Mississippi*, vol. ii., p. 35), Mr. Hodge says, "I am convinced that the Corazones was a portion of the present Sonora Valley."

Buckingham Smith (*Rel.*, p. 177), places it in the valley of Señora near the sea. The Indian name of the town is Tekora, the people the Nevome, a nation of the Pima stock, and who speak Heve or Eudeve. Davis (in *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 103, note) locates it "near the Gulf of California and in the limits of the present Mexican State of Cinaloa." But he also gives Lieut. A. W. Whipple's location, ("Report of Explorations, 1853–1854," Washington, 1856, in *Pacific R. R. Reports.*, vol. iii.) on the river San Miguel not far from the coast of California. Simpson, *Coronado's March*, p. 18, reprinted from the *Smithsonian Report*, 1869, locates it in the valley of the Suya River. H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 41, and in the maps on pp. 29 and 43, identifies Sonora with Arizpe (Arispe) on the Rio Sonora and below it to the south San Geronimo, and below it "Los Corazones" between the mountains before turning west, but gives no reason for his location beyond that on p. 40, note 12, where he makes it five days from Rio Yaqui to Corazones, according to Jaramillo's "Relation" (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 155), and apparently from there one day to Sonora on the same stream. But see also his *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i., p. 66, and p. 87, note 20. See also "Rel. de Castañeda," *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 425, 439 and 449, and Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 155, and "Rel. del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 147, for the descriptions.

APPENDIX L

CREDIBILITY OF CABEÇA'S NARRATIVE

On the question of the general trustworthiness of Cabeça's narrative there is a wide divergence of opinion. With earlier writers, his profession of miraculous power appears to be the great stumbling-block and to entitle him to discredit. Dr. Brinton (*Floridian Peninsula*, pp. 15–18), while accepting the main fact of the journey, considers his work "disfigured by bold exaggeration and the wildest fictions" and cites the *Examen Apologetico* of Don Antonio Ardonio, included in Barcia's *Historiadores*, vol. i. Sir Arthur Helps (*Spanish Conquest*, vol. iv., p. 397), Ticknor (*Hist. Spanish Lit.*, vol. ii., pp. 39–40, note), T. W. Fields (Buckingham Smith's *Rel.*, p. 251), are all disposed to give him great credit. To me, his narrative bears internal evidence of a scrupulous and conscientious man. He rarely, if ever, asserts that the Indians were cured by his interposition, but qualifies his accounts with the statement that *they said* they were cured (caps. xv., xxii., xxvii.). He dwells with as great detail on the successful surgical operation performed by him (cap. xxix.) as upon his miraculous cures. The only other incident at all out of the ordinary is the story of Badthing (cap. xxii.), which is paralleled by modern Indian jugglery, as I have shown in my note, and even when shown the persons upon whom Badthing had performed his trick, Cabeça cautiously says the Indians "brought to us many of those *they said* he had seized."

It may be asked how far Cabeça's cautious statements of these cures was influenced by fear of the Holy Office, which was irregularly exercised by both the Franciscan and Dominican Orders in Mexico until the appointment of Zumárraga as Inquisitor in 1535 (*Obras de D. J. Garcia Icazbalceta*, tomo i., pp. 270–277, México, 1896), and in Spain, where his work was printed, was exceedingly powerful. But had that been the case I think he would have entirely omitted the incidents. It is significant that Oviedo (vol. iii., p. 603) recognises the method observed in the miraculous cures as similar to that practised in Castile by certain "healers" or faith-curers, who were, I suppose, unauthorised laymen, neither priests nor monks.

APPENDIX M

CABEÇA'S ROUTE ACROSS TEXAS FROM MALHADO ISLAND

Buckingham Smith's first edition (see edition of 1871, Appendix, pp. 234–235) traces the route from Malhado Island, the long sand-bar east of the mouth of Mobile Bay, into territory between the bay and Pearl River in southern Alabama, then northward to Muscle Shoals in the Tennessee River, thence westward to the junction of the Arkansas and the Canadian, then west to Zuñi. In his edition of 1871, Cabeça leaves San Antonio Bay (p. 89), wanders six years between the Natchitoches and Sabine Rivers (p. 127), then follows west around the San Sabá Mountains (p. 148), strikes the Rio Bravo del Norte at its junction with the Conchos (pp. 143, note, and pp. 162–163), then west from Presidio del Norte into the valleys between the Sierra Barrigon and the Cordillera of the Andes, into Pima Bajo; then south-westerly to an extreme branch of the Yakime (p. 169), then down the river into the valley of Sonora (p. 177). General Simpson's *Coronado's March*, p. 4, reprinted from *Smithsonian Report*, 1869, accepts the route laid out by Mr. Buckingham Smith in the first (1851) edition. H. H. Bancroft (*North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. i.) takes Cabeça from Malhado Island on the western or northern Gulf coast, west of the Mississippi River (p. 63), to San Antonio Bay (p. 64), then north-westerly through Texas by the base of the San Sabá range, then north, then westward, crossing the Pecos and the Rio Grande below Paso del Norte (p. 65).

Prince (*Hist. of New Mexico*), starting from or near Galveston, or Matagorda Beach or Island (p. 91), traces the route north-westerly until the plains are reached (p. 91), in sight of the San Sabá Mountains (pp. 76, 91), then generally southwest across the Pecos (p. 79) to the Rio Grande (p. 79), up which it follows into central New Mexico (pp. 91, 92), then west along the Puerco and San José and then south into Sonora (pp. 91, 92). Davis (*The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*) traces the route from the seacoast of Texas north-west to the plains (p. 77, note 1), crossing the head waters of some of the rivers in eastern Texas (p. 93), then up the Red River or possibly the Canadian (pp. 93, 96), then south-west to the Pecos, or the Rio del Norte, or the Conchos (pp. 97, 98, notes), then up one of these rivers among the Pueblos of New Mexico (pp. 70, 100), then to the head waters of and along the Gila to near the Colorado, then south-west, parallel with the coast to "Los Corazones," or due west from the Conchos and then south-east to "Los Corazones" (p. 103). Both Prince and Davis, influenced doubtless by a certain sectional pride, are disposed to carry Cabeça too far north into New Mexican territory, and neither evinces a local knowledge of the country traversed by the party, its fauna, flora, and physiology at all equal to that shown by Bandelier. Bandelier (in "La Découverte du Nouveau Mexique," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, tome v., p. 31, No. 1, 1886), varies slightly from the route laid down in his later work. In place of first striking the Rio Grande somewhat below the mouth of the Pecos, he makes the travellers strike the Pecos near or directly at its junction with the Rio Grande.

APPENDIX N

DE SOTO, SOURCES

The Ranjel narrative is given by Oviedo in his *Historia General y Natural de Indias*, vol. i., lib. xvii., caps. xxi.–xxviii. inclusive, pp. 554–577, and ends abruptly with the arrival of the army at Utiangüe (the "Autiamque" of Elvas, *Hak.*, vol.

iii., p. 12; the "Vtiangue" of Garcilaso, *La Florida*, lib. iv., cap. xv., p. 194, and "Virianque" of Biedma, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 61) to which the editor has appended the manuscript headings of two additional chapters which were not completed by the author. In chapter xxvi. Oviedo states that this Roderigo Ranjel, who appears to have been one of the cavalry, kept a journal from which his history was written. The account up to the burning of Chicaça appears to be independent of, while it agrees substantially with, those of the other writers. Beyond that it follows very closely the Elvas narrative. It is altogether free from the exaggeration of Garcilaso, but gives no distances. Many of the names correspond with those of the Elvas narrative. Occasionally the narrator boasts a little of his prowess, as at the battle of Mavilla, but the impression left upon the reader is one of truthfulness and of a close adherence to facts.

The Biedma relation, printed in Buckingham Smith's *Coleccion de Varios Documentos para la Historia de Florida*, from vol. lxxxi. of the Muñoz collection, extends from pp. 47 to 64. Biedma was factor of the emperor and accompanied De Soto throughout the expedition. A final note (p. 64) of Muñoz states that the relation was presented to the Council of the Indies in 1544, which would be about a year after the return of the survivors to Mexico. It is greatly abridged and gives directions and distances traversed, but the wanderings of the army under Moscoso subsequent to De Soto's death are condensed into the two final pages.

The Portuguese relation of the "Gentleman of Elvas" was translated by Richard Hakluyt under the title of *Virginia Richly Valued by the Description of the Maine Land of Florida, her next Neighbour*, and contains forty-four chapters, extending from vol. ii., p. 537, to vol. iii., p. 58, of the Edinburgh edition of 1889. The final note, vol. iii., p. 58, states that it was finished February 10, 1557. It is very circumstantial, gives directions and distances, and recounts the story from beginning to end. There seems to be little or no exaggeration of numbers and from its moderate tone it commands credibility.

La Florida del Inca, by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega is an elaborate production in six books (Madrid edition of MDCCXXIII.) of one hundred and seventy chapters. The author states (lib. v., cap. xii., p. 190), that he finished his history in 1591. He was not himself an eye-witness of the events which he narrates, but went to Spain in 1560, where he became acquainted with some of the followers of De Soto and prepared his account from the written memoirs of two soldiers and from the oral report of an officer of the expedition. Born in 1540, he was sixty-one years of age when the story was completed. There has been a great diversity of opinion as to its reliability. See Clements R. Markham, in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. i., p. 265; Brinton, *Floridian Peninsula*, p. 21; Theodore Irving, *Conquest of Florida*, vol. i., preface; Martin, *Hist. of Louisiana*, p. 35, and other writers on the subject.

It is bombastic, verbose, exaggerated, extravagant, and uncritical. Handfuls of Indians expand into hosts. The native chiefs, whose orations are reported at full length, speak like Roman senators, and except for the bare skeleton of the story and those details which are confirmed by the concurrent testimony of the other writers, it is very far from carrying with it that conviction upon which a reliable account can be based. It is not difficult to imagine the illustrious and amiable historian, sitting cosily by the fire of a winter's evening and listening *ore rotundo* to the hairbreadth escapes and personal encounters of the officer, making his elaborate notes, and accepting it all as veritable history with that Indian credulity to which his blood entitled him, and which had stood the Spaniards in such good service in his native country of Peru.

The "Letter written by the Adelantado De Soto to the Municipal Body of Santiago of the Island of Cuba" is translated in full in *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, p. 43, by Ternaux-Compans. An English version is also given in F. B. French's "Discovery of the Mississippi," *Historical Collection of Louisiana*, vol. ii., p. 91.

APPENDIX O

DIFFICULTIES IN THE WAY OF DETERMINING THE ROUTE FOLLOWED BY DE SOTO

There are four different elements which may enter into the determination of the route followed by De Soto; these are, direction, distance, names of localities, and identification of localities. The first three are found in the narratives themselves, and there is unquestionably a general agreement between the authors as to the names of the localities visited and the order in which they were met with. Mr. Gatschet in his *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians* (vol. i. p. 190), says: "In order to determine De Soto's route in these parts, we have to decide, first, whether the days and directions of the compass noted by his chroniclers deserve more credence than the local names transmitted in cases where both form conflicting statements. The names of the localities could not be pure invention." This at once introduces a matter of opinion in which there is as good reason for accepting one side of the question as the other, according to the temperament of the investigator.

Take first the matter of direction. This could not be determined with any great exactitude, as the explorers were without compass (Elvas, *Hak.*, vol. iii., p. 23), and probably directed their way by the sun and by the stars. And even assuming the points of the compass to have been correctly observed, there is a still greater difficulty in translating them, if we are to accept at its full value Mr. Bandelier's statement that "the terms Norte, Sur, as often indicate East and West, in old documents, as they do the other two cardinal points" (*Southwestern Hist. Contributions*, p. 38, note). But it is very difficult to conceive that men traversing an unknown country would be so loose in the employment of such specific terms, and it is more probable that Mr. Bandelier intends to say that the terms are often used to indicate a general direction and could hardly be used with the double significance in one and the same document. And in this view I am confirmed by

Mr. Hodge, who, in his essay on Coronado's March in Brower's *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 39, says: "Many early travellers frequently say 'north' for 'northerly.'"

On the question of distance, the calculations were of the roughest kind. When following an Indian trail it may have been possible to compute approximately the distance travelled on the trail, but the latter necessarily made detours from a straight direction between any two points in order to reach the fords in the rivers and the passes through the mountains. The army crossed innumerable rivers and was twice during its march in a mountainous region. Crossing a rough or swampy country the estimate of distance becomes much more complicated by detours to avoid lakes and morasses. An evidence of the very great difference in the estimate of a distance based on one day's march is afforded by the Tristan de Luna expedition, made about twenty years later, in which a small company of soldiers returned in twelve days over a route it had taken seventy days for an army of two hundred to traverse for the first time. In only one instance did De Soto retrace his steps,—on the return south from Pacaha.

Much has been done in the direction of identifying De Soto's Indian names of localities with the languages to which they belong, but that is far from being sufficient. Mr. Fairbanks, in his *History of Florida* (p. 73), says: "The task of tracing the steps of De Soto is by no means devoid of difficulty. We have to encounter not only the uncertainties of connecting names with localities imperfectly described, but have to be governed in these by three separate accounts of the expedition, exhibiting very important differences and discrepancies." This identification of names with locations has been done by A. J. Pickett, the learned historian of Alabama, and also to some extent by C. C. Jones, Jr., in his *Hernando de Soto*, upon the faith of Indian tradition, of which the earliest records are over two and a half centuries after the event. Parkman's estimate of such sources of evidence is very forcibly expressed in his *A Half Century of Conflict*, vol. i., p. 331, where he says: "Nothing is more misleading than Indian tradition, which is of the least possible value as evidence."

Few will be disposed to dispute the great weight of his authority. And Mr. F. W. Hodge, on page 4 of *The First Discovered City of Cibola* (reprinted from the *Am. Anthropologist*, vol. viii., No. 2, April, 1895), shows and proves that "Zuñi traditional accounts of events which occurred over three centuries ago are not worthy of consideration as historical or scientific evidence."

The identification of names and localities has also been determined by the undisputed situation at a later date of the Indian town still bearing the same name. As to the uncertainty of this method, Mr. Gatschet gives some striking illustrations. Speaking of Tallissi, one of De Soto's halting-places in the Creek territory, he says (*Migration Legend*, vol. i., p. 189), it is undoubtedly Talua-hássi, "old town," "but which one of the numerous settlements of this name it may have been it is now impossible to determine." I believe he mentions elsewhere that it is known to have changed place five or six times. Another instance is that of the Alibamu, who, granting that De Soto travelled north-westerly through Alabama and Mississippi, were then in the north-western part of the latter State, very far from where they were found at a later period. It is important to bear in mind that all of these tribes were semi-sedentary, moving up- and down-stream under various provocations, and that the negative evidence that we do not know of the change of habitat of a particular tribe since the white man has lived near them, is of very small value. In fact, the presence of the white man would rather tend to fix permanently the settlement of a tribe by restricting its hunting grounds, by extending protection over the neighbouring region and by alliances beneficial to tribes which remained in place.

Finally, identification of names with localities imperfectly described has been made in some cases where there were distinctive physical features, the result of natural or artificial conditions, as in the case of the Indian mound near Clarksville, Georgia; but in two of the most important points of the entire journey too much still depends upon conjecture. Take the case of Silverbluff on the Savannah River, generally accepted as the site of Cufitatchiqui. Mr. Jones bases his identification chiefly upon the agreement of the description given by De Soto's historians with that of Bartram, who visited the place two hundred and fifty years later. He even ventures to contradict Bartram's statement as to the origin of certain Indian ruins, while he admits that these Indian ruins of terraces, arias, and so forth "have been obliterated by the ploughshare and the changing seasons, and the most marked of them occupying positions near the bluff have been swept away by the encroaching tides of the tawny-hued Savannah. During the memory of an old inhabitant, more than one hundred feet in breadth of this bluff have been eaten away and dissipated by the insatiable currents of this river" (pp. 27–29). What was the bluff, and where was the river three hundred and forty years ago, and what may now remain of the features which the Spanish chroniclers described? The other instance is that of the Lower Choctaw bluffs, where De Soto crossed the Mississippi River. On the west bank of the river, but a very few miles up, was the mouth of a confluent from the west. The mouth of the St. Francis is to-day eighty miles below Memphis, sixty-five miles in a direct line, and one hundred and fourteen miles by river below the bluffs. What have been the other changes in the bed of that ever restless river in these three hundred and forty years, we know not.

It is a matter of comparatively small importance to trace the path of these Spanish adventurers with the precision of a modern railway; the living interest, the central figures, the true object of our study, should be the hardy, valorous, and loyal pioneers themselves, who undauntedly faced an unknown land as Columbus had faced an unknown sea.

APPENDIX P

FRAY MARCOS'S TRIP TO THE SEA

After leaving Petatlan, Fray Marcos heard of a plain four or five days distant in the interior at the foot of a mountain chain, "y como esta abra se desvia de la costa, y mi intencion era no apartar me della, determiné de dejalla," etc. (*Doc.*

Inedit., vol. iii., p. 332). Later, after leaving Vacapa and having crossed the first wilderness, he says: "Aquí supe que la costa se vuelve al Poniente, muy de recio, porque hasta la entrada deste primer despoblado que pasé, siempre la costa se venia metiendo al Norte . . . y así fuí en demanda della y vi claramente que, en los treinta y cinco grados, vuelve al Oeste" (*Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 339). From Vacapa, which is about one hundred miles from the sea, Fray Marcos travels north in the steps of Stephen and follows the valleys — the trend of the valleys in Sonora is north and south, and assuming the route traversed to be that laid down by Bandelier, he must have been over two hundred miles from the coast at the point where he says he visited it. Between lay a desert, an inhospitable region of isolated mountains, devoid of grass, wood, and water. (See the map accompanying Bartlett's *Personal Narrative*, and vol. ii., pp. 187, 196, 208 *et seq.*, and Emory's *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*, pp. 85, 91 *et seq.*). Assuming that he made each day ten leagues (twenty-six miles), the most rapid travel mentioned in his narrative, he would have taken eight days to travel to Adair Bay in a straight line.

If, on the other hand, we take the route laid down by Bancroft as a "possible route" (*Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, map on p. 43), he would be within reach of the coast, but would have to travel across the desert, and the time allowed by the narrative to reach Cibola from the point from which the coast expedition started, is altogether insufficient.

THE DESERT.—It seems proven beyond a peradventure that Cibola was the Zuñi group. Taking a fifteen-days' circuit from here, the distance given by the friar, by the natives with whom he conversed, by Castañeda and by Coronado, we have the extent of the last desert crossed. Bancroft and others locate the edge, where Fray Marcos entered the desert, the Chichilticale with its ruined and roofless red-earth house (Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 422, 424, 450; Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 156) at the Casas Grandes of the Gila. See *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 41; Simpson's *Coronado's March*, p. 20, reprinted from the *Smithsonian*

Report for 1869; Davis, *Spanish Conquest*, p. 151, note 1; Prince, *Hist. New Mexico*, p. 121; Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. i., p. 395; Haynes, *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 481, note 2. But Bandelier (*Contributions*, p. 150, note 2) describes the country between it and Zuñi as so difficult that it would have taken months, not days, to cross it, either to Zuñi or Moqui. He adds that the vegetation about the Chichilticale of Coronado does not agree with that found at the Casas Grandes of the Gila (*Final Rept.*, Pt. II., pp. 407–409).

If we consider it to be the Casas Grandes of Chihuahua, the same objection of a distance nearly double arises. And it is to be observed that neither Fray Marcos nor Coronado speaks of a desert in the sense of an absence of water, etc., but of an unpeopled region. In fact, there is no necessity for locating the ruined red house at either of these places, for Emory (*Notes*, etc., pp. 65, 67, 69) describes numerous ruins along the Gila, east of the mouth of the San Pedro, and within the fifteen-days' march of Zuñi, which apparently satisfy the conditions. And Bandelier thinks Coronado's Chichilticale was in the neighbourhood of Fort Grant on the southern foot of Mt. Graham, in which opinion he is followed by Winship (*Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 387), although Winship adds (*ibid.*, note 1) that Mota Padilla's explanation that the "red house" was so named from a house there which was daubed over with coloured earth (the Casa Grande being now white), in part meets Bandelier's objection. Dr. Elliott Coues, in his "Commentary on Mark of Nice" (*On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, vol. ii., pp. 479–485), takes Fray Marcos up the Sonora River to the sources of the San Pedro. On p. 483 he discusses the friar's trip to the sea.

It is worthy of notice that Fray Marcos is nowhere accused of misdirecting or misleading the army, but of false representations as to what they would find. It seems to me that Bandelier's route is the most acceptable, not because it removes all difficulties, but becasue it presents fewer than any other.

APPENDIX Q

THE TRUTHFULNESS OF FRAY MARCOS

The first of the three contemporary witnesses who accuse Fray Marcos of falsehood is Cortés, who says: "Y al tiempo que yo viene de la dicha tierra, el dicho Fr. Marcos hablo conmigo . . . é yo le di noticia de esta dicha tierra y descubrimiento de ella," etc. . . . "y despues que volvio el dicho fraile ha publicado que diz que llego a vista de la dicha tierra; la qual yo niego haber el visto ni descubierto," etc., "y en haber se en esto adelantado el dicho Fr. Marcos fingiendo y refiriendo lo que no sabe ni vio," etc. (Cortés's Memorial quoted by Bandelier, *Contributions*, p. 17, note 2). The second is Coronado, who wrote to the emperor: "Visto que no habia ninguna cosa delas que Fr. Márcos dijo" ("Carta de Francisco Vazquez Coronado al Emperador," *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 368), and elsewhere in his relation (in *Hak.*, vol. iii., pp. 118, 119, 120, 125, and 128). The third is Castañeda (*Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 419 *et seq.*), where he accuses Fray Marcos of turning back without having seen Cibola, on hearing the report of Estevanico's death (and elsewhere see *ibid.*, pp. 424, 426).

As to Cortés, he was actively engaged in exploration northward along the Pacific coast, was possessed of certain indefinite rights, and was particularly interested in laying claim by the right of prior discovery or knowledge, which he asserted in his memorial, to anything in that direction. Coronado writes after his return from a long and fruitless journey across the plains; moreover he had been under the surveillance of the friar as to his conduct toward the Indians, an office filled by Fray Marcos under the direct appointment of the viceroy, and which could scarcely have endeared the monk to him; Castañeda, as far as we can tell, was but a common soldier in the army of Coronado (*Rel. du Voyage de Cibola*, Preface, p. iii.). Unlike Cortés and Coronado, he could not have seen the written reports of the monk to the viceroy, and could only have been familiar with the form which his relation took as preached from the pulpits of the Franciscans, who were eager to magnify the discovery, made by one of their number, and among the soldiers and adventurers in the City of Mexico. How distorted it became he himself shows us in his account.

As for the strictures of subsequent writers, such as those of Bancroft (in *North Mexican States*, vol. i., pp. 76, 77, and in *Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 28, 33), Ternaux-Compans (in *Rel. du Voyage de Cibola*, Preface, p. v.), Davis (in *Hist. Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, p. 141), Prince (in *Hist. of New Mexico*, p. 101), and Haynes (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 499), they are too *ex cathedra* and unsupported by reasons for the opinions advanced to deserve more than a passing notice.

As against these adverse opinions, we have that of the father provincial of his Order, that of the viceroy, the unexpected confirmation of his story given by Melchior Diaz, "Estevan, le nègre, est mort de la manière que le père Marcos l'a conté à votre seigneurie" (*Rel. du Voyage*, p. 296), and the various other incidental proofs mentioned in the notes in the course of the chapter dealing with Fray Marcos, showing the difficulty of correctly understanding an unknown language, and his discriminating treatment of fact and hearsay throughout his narrative. That the latter may have been coloured by a disposition to believe what the natives reported as true, was common to all of these early discoverers, as it is to most of mankind, where the reports hold out a golden promise at which the hearer may also grasp.

APPENDIX R

QUIVIRA

Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 443, 456; Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 160; "Rel. del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 152; "Troisième lettre a l'Empereur Charles V.," *Voyage de Cibola*, p. 360; also in *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 363. Bandelier, *Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 44, 169, note 4, and p. 170, say that the Quivira Indians were a band of roving Indians in north-eastern Kansas, beyond the Arkansas River and more than one hundred miles north-east of Grand Bend. Simpson, (*Coronado's March*, p. 13, note, and p. 33, reprinted from the *Smithsonian Report* for 1869), says Quivira was "the boundary between the States of Kansas and Nebraska, well on towards the Missouri River." Bancroft (*Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 62) accepts Simpson's location. Prince (*New Mexico*, p. 141), places it "on the borders of Missouri, somewhere between Kansas City and Council Bluffs." Davis (*Conquest*, p. 213, note 3) identifies it with the Gran Quivira about one hundred and fifty miles due south of Santa Fé, in the county of Valencia (a direction absolutely at variance with that given in the accounts). Haynes (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 494, note 1), while he believes that "the earlier writers, Gallatin, Squier, Kern, Abert, and even Davis, have fallen into the error of fixing it at Gran Quivira," after quoting Simpson, Prince, Bandelier, and Savage (*Proceedings of Am. Antiq. Soc.*, p. 240, April, 1881), thinks he "crossed the plains of Kansas and came out at a point much farther west (than latitude 40°) upon the Platte River." Winship (*Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 398, note 1), after discussing Bandelier's location, thinks "it was much more probably somewhere between the main forks of the Kansas River, in the central part" of Kansas. Hodge (Brower, *Memoirs*, vol. ii., pp. 67 *et seq.*) says: "Great Bend or its vicinity is the site of the first village of the province of Quivira," and that "Coronado, after leaving the village at or near Great Bend, continued in a north-easterly course, and either followed down the Smoky Hill, or crossed that stream and also the Saline, Solomon, and Republican forks, reaching Kansas River not far from Junction City." On page 69 he identifies the Quiviras with the Wichitas. W. E. Richey (in *The Real Quivira*, p. 6, reprinted from *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, vol. vi.) says that Coronado's and Jaramillo's descriptions "apply more aptly to the country along the south side of the lower Smoky Hill and upper Kansas than any other."

Mr. Hodge has kindly called my attention to a photograph and description of what appears to be a piece of chain armour found in McPherson County, Kansas, directly in the path of this route. They are given in "An Old Indian Village," by Johan August Udden, in *Augustana Library Publications*, No. 2, Rock Island, Ill., 1900.

Observe the distance of four degrees between the latitude of the river S. Pedro i S. Pablo in 36 degrees ("Rel. del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 153) and that of Quivira in 40 degrees, crossed in a few days only. It is noticeable that Alarcon (*Voyage de Cibola*, p. 347) says Ulloa's observations are two degrees too high. Davidson, Bancroft, and others estimate a constantly increasing error of observation of from one to two degrees, in Cabrillo's narrative, along the Pacific coast. Gran Quivira was the pueblo of Tabira of the Piros Indians at the foot of the Mesa de los Jumanos in south-eastern New Mexico. Bandelier, *Final Report*, Pt. I., p. 131; *ibid.*, Pt. II., pp. 282 *et seq.* See Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 198. The Gran Quivira myth is very fully discussed in Charles F. Lummis's chapter, "The Cities that were forgotten," in *The Land of Poco Tiempo*, p. 283.

APPENDIX S

CORONADO'S ROUTE TO CIBOLA

The conclusion that Coronado followed substantially the same route to Cibola as that taken by Fray Marcos, arises from a variety of reasons. First, he was accompanied by the friar, who must have guided him. Jaramillo (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 155) says, "De aqui fuimos al rio que se dice Yaquemi," from which he passed to Los Corazones, the location of which in the Sonora Valley has been shown in Appendix K, p. 455, in this volume. "Fuimos de aqui pasando una manera de portezuelo, i casi cerca deste arroyo, al otro valle que el mismo arroyo hace, que se dice de Señora" (*ibid.*, p. 156). Bancroft (*Hist. Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 39) thinks he went across from the Yaqui to the Sonora Valley, while Bandelier

(*Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 409) says "it is certain that Coronado marched up the Sonora River very nearly to its source and thence either across to the San Pedro Valley or else to the Santa Cruz." Jaramillo mentions a town, "Ispa," on the stream (p. 156), which Bancroft (*ibid.*, p. 40, note 19) thinks is in the Sonora Valley, and which Hodge (Brower, *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 37) identifies with Arispe at the confluence of the Bacuachi and the Sonora.

"Dende aqui se va como quatro jornadas de despoblado, a otro arroyo donde entendimos llamarse Nexpa" (*ibid.*, p. 156). Squier (*North Am. Review*, p. 6, 1848) thinks this the Gila, but he is disproved by Simpson ("Coronado's March," p. 19, reprint from the *Smithsonian Report* for 1869), who thinks it the Santa Cruz. Bancroft (*ibid.*, p. 40, note 19) thinks it the Santa Cruz or possibly the San Pedro. Aside from the reasons stated in his *Contributions*, p. 133, Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. I., pp. 469 *et seq.*) says it is not the Santa Cruz, which disappears at a distance of at least fifty miles from the nearest point on the Gila, in which he is corroborated by Bartlett (*Personal Narrative*, vol. ii., p. 569), that it is not either of the two remaining eastern valleys (excepting the Gila), as they "are arid and scantily provided with springs" (p. 474), but that it is the San Pedro, which does flow into the Gila. He says that the lower course of the San Pedro is nearly impassable on account of the narrowness of the defile (*Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 476). Hodge (Brower, *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 38) also identifies Nexpa with the San Pedro.

"Por este arroyo abaxo fuimos dos jornadas, y dexado el arroyo fuimos a la mano derecha [that is to say, east] al pie de la cordillera en dos dias de camino donde tuvimos noticia que se llamava Chichiltic-calli" (*ibid.*, p. 156). That the chain of mountains to which Jaramillo gives this name of Chichiltic-calli are the Santa Catarina Mountains, see Simpson ("Coronado's March," p. 19) and Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. II., pp. 407–409, inferentially). Mr. Hodge (Brower, *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 40) locates Jaramillo's pass of this name in the vicinity of Benson on the Southern Pacific Railroad, east of which is the Dragoon Pass. For the location of the Desert of "Chichiltic-calli," see Appendix P, p. 465, in this volume.

Jaramillo also mentions a succession of streams which were encountered. These are: (1) "Un arroyo hondo y cañada" (p. 156). Bancroft (*ibid.*, p. 41, note) thinks it was "perhaps Pinal Creek," or (*ibid.*, p. 40, note 19) the "Gila or San Pedro." Simpson (*ibid.*, p. 19) and Hodge (*Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 42) think it the Gila. (2) "A un rio a qui pusimos nombre de San Juan." Bancroft (*ibid.*, p. 41, note), thinks it was the "South Fork of Rio Salado," and Hodge (*Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 42), "the present Gila Bonito, known fifty years ago as the Santa Cruz." (3) "Rio de las Balsas," which Bancroft (*ibid.*, p. 41, note), considers was the "White Mountain River," Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 398, note 1), "the Gila," and Hodge (*ibid.*, p. 42), the "Rio Salado." (4) "Rio de la Barranca." Hodge (*ibid.*, p. 42) thinks it "may be . . . the headwaters of the Colorado Chiquito south of Springerville;" Bancroft (*ibid.*, p. 41, note), "Summit Spring," and Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 398, note 1, and p. 402), "the Prieto or Black River." (5) "Rio Frio." Hodge (*ibid.*, p. 42) and Bancroft (*ibid.*, p. 41, note), think it was the "Colorado Chiquito," and Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 398, note 1), the "White Mountain River." (6) "Un agua y arroyuelo fresco." Bandelier (*Final Rept.*, Pt. II., p. 398, note 1) says "the streams about Sholow." (7) "Rio Vermejo." See p. 299, note 4, in this volume.

Dr. Elliott Coues in his "Commentary on Coronado" (in *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, vol. ii., p. 513) reviews several of the recent authorities on Coronado's route. He says of Mr. Hodge's essay, "Coronado's March to Quivira" (in Brower, *Memoirs*, vol. ii.), "In my judgment this is the closest approximation ever made to the actual route, as it is also the most critical study of all that relates to the itinerary" (p. 517).

For a route quite at variance with these conclusions see F. S. Dellenbaugh, "The True Route of Coronado's March," *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, New York, December, 1897.

APPENDIX T

BAY OF FILIPINA OF BAZARES

Bazares ("Declaracion de Guido de Bazares de la jornada que hizo a descubrir los puertos e vaias q^e hai en la costa de la Florida para la seguridad de la gente q^e en nb̃re de S. M. se ha de embiar a la pobl^{on} de dha Florida i punta de St^a Elena." Buckingham Smith, *North America MSS., 1500–1560*), describing the port, says: "Descubrió una vaya a la qual puso por nombre Felipina que fue la maior i mas comoda que en toda aquella comarca . . . i esta a la boca de la entrada della en altura de veinte inuebe grados i medio de la banda del Sur i haze la entrada entre una punta de una isla de siete leguas en largo i socorre Leeste hueste, i de la otra banda de la dha entrada esta la punta de la tr̃ra firme, i abria media legua de la una parte a la otra, . . . desde la entrada hasta lo que andubieron doze leguas, i tiene otras tres o quatro leguas adelante queseran todas quince leguas de longitud, i de latitud quatro leguas . . . ai algunos rios pequeños de agua dulce que entran en esta vaya demas de una voca grande que esta al cabo de la vaya que parece rio cabdaloso . . . al rededor dela dha Vaya ansi mismo ai barrancas coloradas altas de la parte de Leste . . . i desde esta vaia intento por dos veces de descubrir la costa queba a delante a Leste i andubo por ella mas de veinte leguas i allo que corria la costa a Leste, i alcabo guinaba sobre el sueste." Dr. Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., pp. 256, 257) thinks it was Pensacola Bay. He adds that the Ternaux-Compans version is very poor. Shipp (*De Soto*, p. 491) also concludes that it is Pensacola Bay.

Taking the legal league at 2.6 miles, the various estimates of the sea league being considerably more, the observed dimensions of the bay are 31.2 by 10.4 miles. This much exceeds the size of Pensacola Bay and of any other bay along the coast except Mobile Bay, with which they correspond approximately, and there is at the head of Mobile Bay a large river. But Mobile Bay is not in latitude 29° 30′; there is no entrance of half a league (1.3 miles); there is no island seven leagues (18.2 miles) long forming its entrance, and the eastern coast does not run east and then south-east within a distance of twenty leagues (52 miles). Pensacola Bay presents just as many difficulties. It is not in 29° 30′ latitude; it has not the dimensions; there is no seven-league island; the trend of the coast does not vary within twenty leagues, and it has no large river-mouth. Choctowatchee Bay and Appalachee Bay are out of the question for the same reasons.

APPENDIX U

BAY OF SANTA MARIA FILIPINA OF ARELLANO

Velasco (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 11) says, " Fue a surgir a la bahia Filipina, que descubrió Guido de Lavezaris, de donde enbió el Governador D. Tristan de Arellano a buscar el puerto de Ichuse; " Davila Padilla (*Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lviii., p. 234), Barcia (*Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 308, Año MDCXCIII.), and Fairbanks (*Hist. Florida*, p. 81) say it was Pensacola Bay. Shea (in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 257) thinks this bay of Ichuse, which De Luna named Santa Maria Filipina, was Santa Rosa Bay. Velasco, in his *Relacion* (*ibid.*, p. 11) continues: " Halló el puerto de Ichuse, que está obra de veinte leguas de la bahia de Filipina y 35 leguas, poco mas o menos, de la bahia de Meruelo, de manera que está entre las dichas dos bahias en altura de 30 grados i un tercio." Davila Padilla (*ibid.*, lib. l., cap. lviii., p. 234) says that the bay " tenia . . . un grande rio de agua dulçe que en el entraua."

Assuming Ichuse or Chuse to be Pensacola Bay (see p. 226, note 1), twenty leagues (52 miles) west bring us to Mobile Bay, and thirty-five leagues (91 miles) about east bring us to St. Andrew's Bay. But according to Velasco (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 11) they struck the coast " ocho leguas de la bahia de Meruelo, á la banda de Hueste en altura de 29 grados i medio," which is exactly the latitude given by López de Velasco in his *Geografía*, p. 162, for the bay of " Tocobaga . . . Espiritu-Santo ó de Miruelo." Eight leagues either north or south from a point on the west coast of the Floridian Peninsula in 29° 30′ brings us to no bay or gulf, neither does it bring us in the neighbourhood of any, and that is the only coast east of the Mississippi which lies in 29° 30′. Neither can the description here be reconciled with that of the coast given by Bazares (see Appendix T), because if Ichuse was in 30° 30′, twenty leagues east of Bazares's Bay, which was in 29° 30′, the trend of the coast to the east of Bazares's Filipina would have been east and north-east within that distance.

It is somewhat curious to find that Velasco (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 12) mentions a red bank forming a good landmark, and Davila Padilla (*Fundacion*, p. 234) a large river of sweet water flowing into the bay, remarkably like the description given by Bazares of his bay (see Appendix T).

APPENDIX V

MISSION OF FRAY LUIS CANCER

Who wrote the "Relacion de la Florida, etc., la qual trajo Fr. Grego. de Beteta," in *Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 190–202?

It is the relation of the events as seen by *two* eye-witnesses, each of whom writes in the first person. Thus it resolves itself into two relations, the first of which terminates with the end of the paragraph on page 200 of the *Col. de Varios Documentos.* The remainder constitutes the second relation. The names of the two writers are not given, but a careful comparison of the use of the personal pronoun *yo* in its connection with the names of the four friars who formed the mission leads to the conclusion that the first relation is by the hand of Fray Luis himself, and the remainder by Fray Gregorio. This conclusion alone makes the account intelligible and consecutive.

1st Relation.—After the landing of Fray Diego (p. 193), who did not again return to the ship, the pronoun *yo* occurs three times (p. 195) in connection with the name of Fray Gregorio. It occurs twice (pp. 195, 198) in connection with the name of Fray Juan, and it occurs twice (pp. 198, 199) in connection with the names of Fray Gregorio and Fray Juan. As the *Relation* distinctly states: "No veniamos mas de *quatro* Frayles a les predicar" (p. 198), [a statement confirmed by the "Rel. de la Fundacion . . . de la órden de Predicadores, hecha año de 1569" (*Doc. Inedit.*, vol. v., pp. 447, 448 *et seq.*), but twenty years after the event; by "Carta de Fray Tobrino Motolinia à el Emperador Carlos V.," dated 1555 (*Col. Doc. Flo.*, pp. 67, 69); by Herrera (tomo iv., dec. 8, lib. v., cap. xiv., p. 112); by Davila Padilla (*Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lv., p. 224); by Gomara (liv. ii., chap. 10, p. 58, Fumée's trans.); and by Barcia (*Ensayo Cronologico*, fol. 26, Año MDXLIX.)], whose names were those given in the text, the writer can have been none other than Fray Luis. From its general tenor and from other internal evidence, such as the statement contained in the opening sentence, I am inclined to believe the first or introductory paragraph to have been written by Fray Luis on the last day passed by him on shipboard, when he was ordering his papers.

As for the balance of the account, it could have been written but by one of the two survivors. On page 202 it is stated: "El Padre Fray Juan i con los Marineros se concertaron ir a la nueva España, y . . . consenti con ellos," etc. Fray Juan and the sailors concluded to go to New Spain, and . . . I agreed with them. (Ternaux-Compans substitutes the name of Fray Gregorio for that of Fray Juan in this sentence.) It follows that Fray Gregorio must have been the writer. I think from the nature of the notes concerning Fray Gregorio added to Fray Luis's narration, and the *absence* of such notes in the relation subsequent to Fray Luis's leaving the ship, that while Fray Gregorio did not feel at liberty to alter the statements made by the leader of the expedition, he did feel it necessary to add thereto such an explanation as would exhibit his own zeal in the best light, where he thought that full justice had not been done him. And the absence of such explicatory notes in relation to the other survivor, Fray Juan, seems to me a further confirmation that the additions are by the hand of Fray Gregorio. If my conclusion in respect to the authorship of the introductory paragraph be correct, it would seem from the expression, "I remitome a la obra que es quedar me solo en tan gran desierto, (p. 190)" that Fray Luis's companions had refused to remain with him in Florida. In his note in *Narr. and Crit. Hist. Am.*, vol. ii., p. 255, Dr. Shea asserts the divided authorship of the relation in conformity with the conclusions which I have reached. It is to be regretted that a writer so learned in the early mission history of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States should not have given the reason for his assertion.

There is a French translation in Ternaux-Compans, *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, pp. 107–142. The introduction is greatly condensed, and there are several errors in the translation.

APPENDIX W

DAVILA PADILLA'S ACCOUNT OF FRAY LUIS CANCER

Davila Padilla (*Hist. de la Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lvi., pp. 224 *et seq.*) varies the story considerably. But one landing was made in which Frays Luis, Diego, and Fuentes went ashore, leaving Frays Gregorio and Juan in the boat. The Indians seized and killed the three fathers (*sic!*). At this Frays Gregorio and Juan rushed ashore barefoot and were pursued by the Indians, who finally caught them and stripped them of their clothing, which the two fathers contrived to recover by an innocent ruse. Escaping from them and returning to the ship, the two survivors there met the escaped slave, Juan Muñoz, who told them he had seen the killing of the three fathers from his hiding-place and had heard the first one killed exclaim: "Adiuua me, Dominus Deus meus" ("Help me, my Lord God"). From the description given of him by Muñoz the survivors recognised him to be Fray Luis Cancer.

It is impossible to reconcile this account with that of Fray Luis himself as given in the *Col. Doc. Flo.* While Padilla's account tries to palliate the desertion of Fray Luis by the two fathers, it belittles the self-sacrifice of Fray Luis by making him the victim of his imprudence instead of calmly and devotedly seeking an almost inevitable martyrdom in the very face of what he knew had happened to his two companions. It is only necessary to read Padilla's account in order to recognise that the incident as related by him owes its colour, at least in part, to the controversies which had arisen on the subject.

APPENDIX X

A LIST OF MONKS AND PRIESTS WHO CAME TO THE COUNTRY WITHIN THE PRESENT LIMITS OF THE UNITED STATES DURING THE FIFTY YEARS SUCCEEDING ITS DISCOVERY, SO FAR AS ASCERTAINABLE

1517. Cordova's Expedition. Alonzo Gonçales, a Clerigo. Herrera, vol. i., dec. 2, lib. ii., cap. xvii., p. 47.

1521. Ponce de Leon's Second Expedition to Florida. Monks and priests. Torquemada's *Monarquia*, tomo i., p. 561; Oviedo, vol. iii., p. 622. Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 103, says they were "in all probability Dominican friars."

1526. Ayllon's Second Expedition. Florida. Three Dominican friars: Fathers Antonio de Montesino, Antonio de Cervantes, Brother Pedro de Estrada. Oviedo, vol. iii., p. 627.

1527. Narvaez's Expedition. Florida. "Fr. Juan Suarez, con otros quatro Frailes de la misma Orden," Barcia, "Naufragios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeca de Vaca," *Historiadores*, vol. i., fol. 1. "Comisario Fr. Juan Xuarez i Fr. Juan de Palos, i tres Clerigos," Herrera, vol. ii., dec. 4, lib. iv., cap. iv., p. 64, and in Barcia, "Naufragios," cap. v., p. 5. Franciscans. "El Asturiano" is the only secular priest named. Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 108.

1538. De Soto's Expedition. Florida. "Doce Sacerdotes, ocho Clerigos, y quatro Frayles," Garcilaso, *La Florida del Inca*, lib. i., cap. vi., p. 9. "Los nombres de los Clerigos, . . . son Rodrigo de Gallegos . . . y Diego de Bañuelos, y Francisco del Poço, . . . Dionisio de Paris" (a Parisian; the names of the others are forgotten). "Los Frayles se llamaban, Fr. Luis de Soto, . . . Fr. Juan de Gallegos . . . ambos Frayles de la Orden de Santo Domingo. Fray Juan de Torres . . . de la Religion de San Francisco, y Fray Francisco de la Rocha . . . de la Advocacion, é Insignia de la Santissima Trinidad." *Ibid.*, lib. vi., cap. xxii., p. 267, gives the account of their deaths. Neither Elvas nor Biedma gives their number or names. Dr. Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 112, says, "Only Father Juan de Gallegos named,"—on what authority I do not know.

1538. Fray Juan de la Asuncion. Southern Arizona. Franciscan. Motolinia, "Hist. de los Indios de la Nueva España," in *Doc. para la Hist. de Mexico*, vol. i., p. 171.

1539. Fray Marcos de Niza. New Mexico. Franciscans. Fray Marcos de Niza and Lay-Brother Onorato, who started out with him, but fell sick and was left behind. *Doc. Inedit.*, vol. iii., p. 330.

1540. Coronado's Expedition. New Mexico. Franciscans. Fray Marcos de Niza, provincial. Fray Antonio Victoria, Fray Juan de Padilla, Lay-Brothers (Legos) Fray Juan de la Cruz and Fray Luis Descalona (or Ubeda). Two Mexican Indians, Oblates (Donados), Sebastian and Lucas. Castañeda, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, pp. 424, 461. Mota Padilla, cap. xxxiii., secs. 7 *et seq.*, quoted by Winship, *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 161. "Rel. del suceso," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 154. Jaramillo, *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 162. Vetancurt, *Teatro* 4ta parte "Menologio," March 25th, November 30th. Gomara, cap. ccxiii., quoted by Winship, *ibid.*, p. 529. Friar Daniel. "Coronado's letter of August 3, 1540," *Fourteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth.*, p. 556.

1549. Fray Luis Cancer's Mission. Florida. Dominicans. Fray Luis Cancer de Barbastro, Fray Gregorio de Beteta, later bishop of Cartagena, Fray Diego de Tolosa (or Peñalosa), Fray Juan Garcia. The Oblate (Donado) Fuentes, who was a Spaniard. "Rel. de la Florida," *Col. Doc. Flo.*, p. 190. Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. liv., p. 217.

1553. Wreck on the Texas Coast. Five Dominicans. Fray Diego de la Cruz, Fray Hernando Mendez, Fray Juan Ferrer; Lay-Brothers (Legos) Fray Marcos de Mena, Fray

Juan de Mena. Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lxxxviii., p. 349; cap. lxxxix., p. 351; cap. xl., pp. 356, 357.

1559. Tristan de Luna's Expedition. Florida. Dominicans. Fray Pedro de Feria, vice-provincial and later bishop of Chiapas; Fray Domingo de Salazar, later bishop of the Philippines; Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion, Fray Juan Mazuelas, Fray Diego de Santo Domingo (probably the Fray Domingo de Santo Domingo of Padilla, *Fundacion*, p. 265, and Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 132), and Lay-Brother Bartolomé Matheos. Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lviii., p. 231; cap. lx., p. 240; cap. lxvii., p. 265; lib. ii., cap. xix., p. 536; cap. xxiii., p. 550; cap. xxix., p. 574; cap. xxxv., p. 593; cap. lxxiv., p. 744.

1561. Villafañe's Expedition. Florida. Dominicans. Fray Gregorio de Beteta, his second visit; Fray Juan de Contreras; Fray Matheo de la Madre de Dios. Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lvii., p. 230; cap. lxvii., p. 266; cap. lxxi., p. 278; lib. ii., cap. xx., p. 538; cap. xxix., p. 572.

1565. Menendez sails for Florida. Jesuits, Franciscans, and Priests.

Juan de Mena. Davila Padilla, *Fundacion*, lib. i., cap. lxxxviii., p. 349; cap. lxxxix., p. 351; cap. xl., pp. 356, 357.

1559. Tristan de Luna's Expedition. Florida. Dominicans. Fray Pedro [illegible] provincial and later bishop of Chiapas; Fray Domingo de Salazar, later bishop of the [illegible]

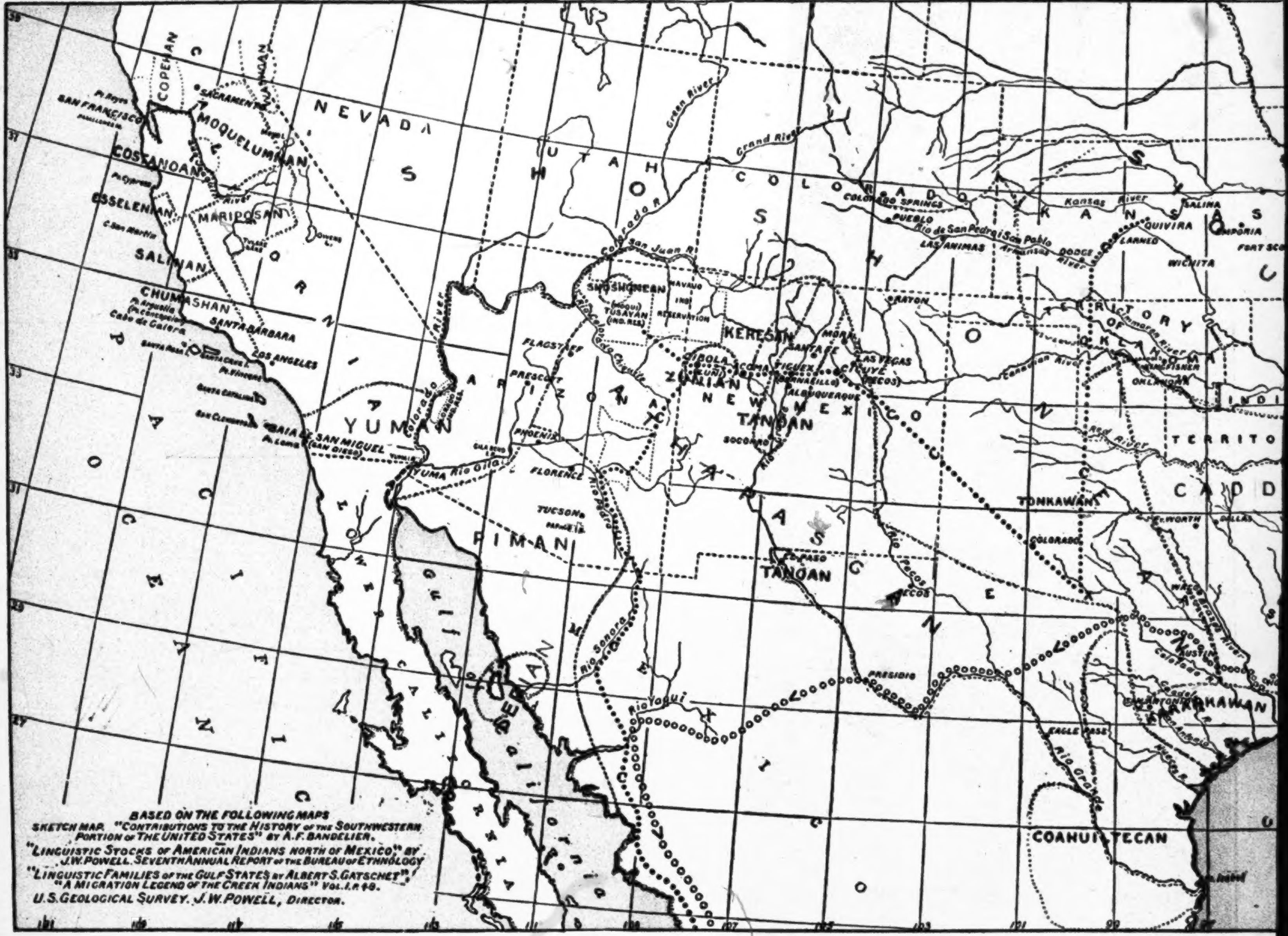
THE MAP.

The Route of De Soto. The text, (pp. 431–432), embodies the most recent conclusions as to the route of De Soto through the Cherokee country worked out by Mr. James Mooney, who appears to have clearly established that the Xuala of De Soto was further to the north than is indicated in the annexed map, and was indeed about the head-waters of the Broad River in North Carolina.

But the location of Guaxule appears to turn upon the assumption that had the De Soto party passed by Cartersville, where there are *three* mounds, it would have mentioned the three mounds in place of speaking of only *one*, and that consequently it passed by Clarksville where there is only *one* mound. As the Cartersville location is accepted by Thomas and Stephenson, and that of Chiaha at the junction of the Etowa and Oostanaula by Pickett, Fairbanks, Shipp, and Jones, the route has been so indicated on the map. It thus allows the party to descend the Coosa River, and permits the locating of the Ullibahali and of the province of Coça in conformity with what data we have of the Tristan de Luna expedition, as well as with the De Soto narratives.

The routes through Mexico of Cabeça de Vaca and of Coronado on the map are those laid down by Mr. Bandelier. Both were at Los Corazones, (see pp. 208 and 298), the location of which, in the valley of the Sonora, as given in the text, is a conclusion it is difficult to avoid.

These are only additional illustrations of the difficulties in the way of establishing, even approximately, the routes of the early explorers.


COPEHAN
SACRAMENTO
NEVADA
SAN FRANCISCO
MOQUELUMNAN
COSTANOAN
UTAH
ESSELENIAN
MARIPOSAN
SALINAN
CHUMASHAN
SANTA BARBARA
LOS ANGELES
CALIFORNIA
SHOSHONEAN
COLORADO
COLORADO SPRINGS
PUEBLO
LAS ANIMAS
Kansas River
SALINA
QUIVIRA
EMPORIA
DODGE
LARNED
WICHITA
Green River
Grand River
Colorado R.
San Juan R.
NAVAJO RESERVATION
TUSAYAN
KERESAN
SANTA FE
LAS VEGAS
PECOS
ZUNIAN
ALBUQUERQUE
NEW MEXICO
TANOAN
SOCORRO
FLAGSTAFF
PRESCOTT
ARIZONA
PHOENIX
FLORENCE
TUCSON
YUMAN
YUMA
Rio Gila
SAN DIEGO
PIMAN
EL PASO
TANOAN
PECOS
Rio Pecos
TONKAWAN
COLORADO
FT. WORTH
DALLAS
CADDO
INDIAN TERRITORY
OKLAHOMA
KINGFISHER
Canadian River
Red River
TEXAS
AUSTIN
SAN ANTONIO
KARANKAWAN
PRESIDIO
EAGLE PASS
Rio Grande
COAHUILTECAN
Rio Sonora
Rio Yaqui
SERIAN
MEXICO
Gulf of California
LOWER CALIFORNIA
PACIFIC OCEAN

BASED ON THE FOLLOWING MAPS
SKETCH MAP. "CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE SOUTHWESTERN PORTION OF THE UNITED STATES" BY A. F. BANDELIER.
"LINGUISTIC STOCKS OF AMERICAN INDIANS NORTH OF MEXICO" BY J. W. POWELL. SEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY
"LINGUISTIC FAMILIES OF THE GULF STATES BY ALBERT S. GATSCHET",
"A MIGRATION LEGEND OF THE CREEK INDIANS" VOL. I. P. 48.
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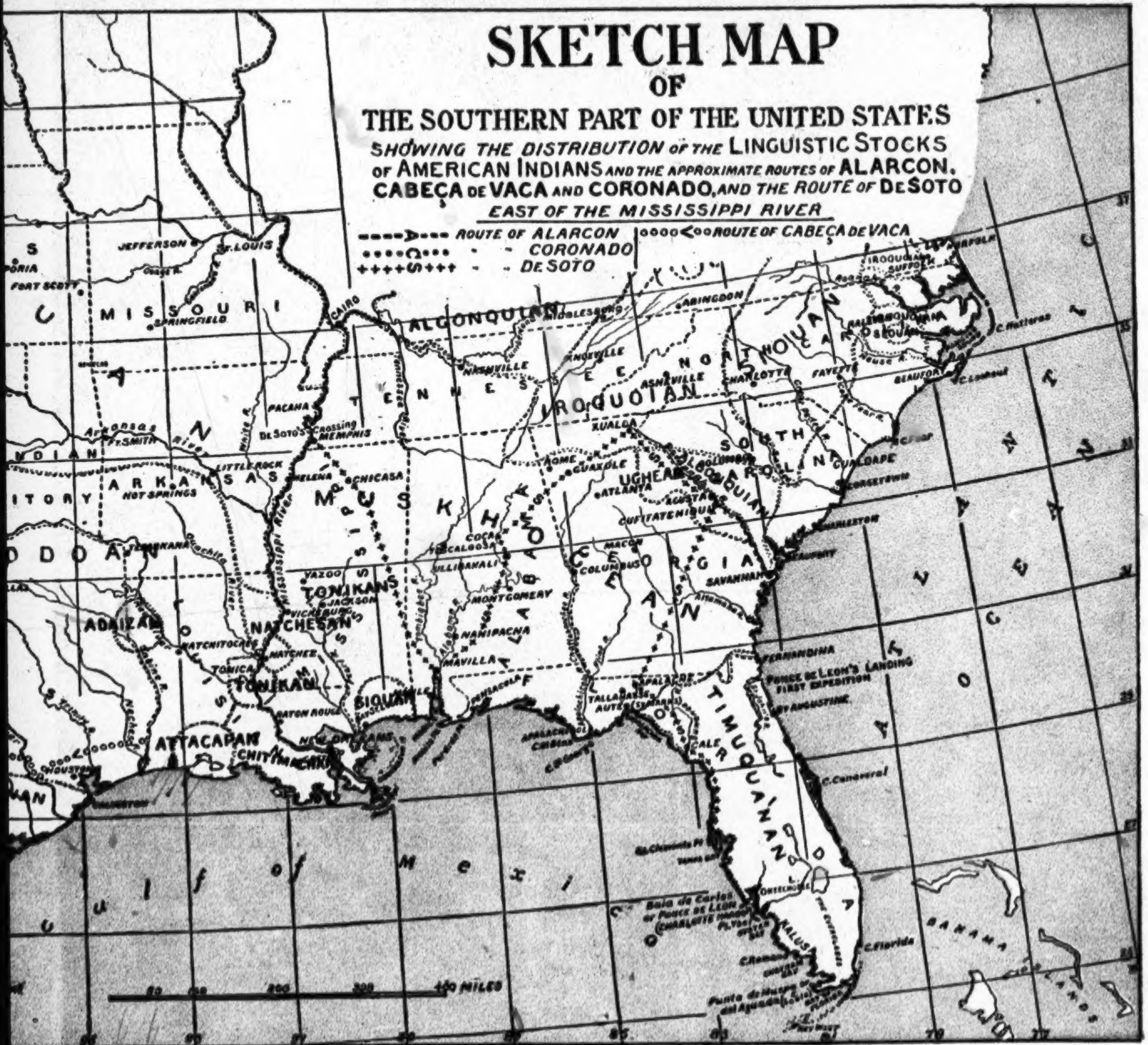

SKETCH MAP OF THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE UNITED STATES SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LINGUISTIC STOCKS OF AMERICAN INDIANS AND THE APPROXIMATE ROUTES OF ALARCON, CABEÇA DE VACA AND CORONADO, AND THE ROUTE OF DE SOTO EAST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

ROUTE OF ALARCON
ROUTE OF CABEÇA DE VACA
CORONADO
DE SOTO
ALGONQUIAN
IROQUOIAN
SIOUAN
MUSKHOGEAN
TONIKANS
NATCHESAN
TONIKAN
ADAIZAN
ATTACAPAN
CHITIMACHAN
TIMUQUANAN
CADDOAN
MISSOURI
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
ALABAMA
MISSISSIPPI
ARKANSAS
FLORIDA
ST. LOUIS
JEFFERSON
CAIRO
NASHVILLE
KNOXVILLE
ASHEVILLE
CHARLOTTE
FAYETTE
ABINGDON
RALEIGH
NORFOLK
SUFFOLK
BEAUFORT
C. Hatteras
C. Lookout
C. Fear
GEORGETOWN
CHARLESTON
SAVANNAH
ATLANTA
MACON
COLUMBUS
MONTGOMERY
MAVILLA
PENSACOLA
TALLAHASSEE
FERNANDINA
ST. AUGUSTINE
Ponce de Leon's Landing First Expedition
C. Canaveral
C. Florida
NEW ORLEANS
BATON ROUGE
NATCHEZ
VICKSBURG
JACKSON
YAZOO
MEMPHIS
De Soto's Crossing
HELENA
CHICASA
LITTLE ROCK
HOT SPRINGS
FT. SMITH
SPRINGFIELD
FORT SCOTT
NATCHITOCHES
HOUSTON
XUALLA
COSA
TASCALOOSA
COFITACHEQUI
ROME
Bahia de Carlos or Ponce de Leon (Charlotte Harbor)
Punta de Muertos del Aguada
BAHAMA
Gulf of Mexico
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MILES
50
100
200
300
400

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